

THE
L I F E
O F
J U L I A N
The A P O S T A T E.

Translated from the FRENCH
of F. LA BLETTE.

And improved with

DISSERTATIONS on several
Points relating to *JULIAN's*
Character, and to the History of the
fourth Century.

By *V. DESVOUX*, Chaplain to the
Regiment of the King's Carabiniers.

Eleanor VOL. I. *Blessington*

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THE ADVENTURE



Advertisement.

Father *La Bletterie's* Life of *Julian*, was so much applauded by all who read it in *French*, and the Translation of it printed a few months ago in *London* has met with such a favourable reception in *England*, that I need not say much about the merit of the work; but I must give the Public an account of what I have done towards it. When I first proposed the publication of this piece of History, I intended to print a Translation of my own, which was very near ready for the press when I heard that a Translation of *Julian's* Life was just published in *England* by an anonymous Author. Had not I been then already engaged with a considerable number of Subscribers, I woud have given over the thought of publishing this first Volume, and contented myself with the second; but as I thought myself bound to deliver them both the Life of *Julian* and the Dissertations mentioned in my Proposals, so I judged they woud be better pleased to have a good Translation than an indifferent one. This made me defer the publication of the work, till I coud see the *London* Translation, which I presumed woud

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be better than mine, at least in point of style. Upon the reading and close comparing of that Translation with the Original, I found it wanted some degrees of perfection in point of exactness, and concluded I coud not reprint it without correcting some few errors which had slipt from the anonymous Translator, and made the *French Author* say things he never thought of. This put me upon a new task more laborious than that of putting the finishing hand to my own work ; but my trouble is well rewarded if the Public is well served.

As the amendments I have made are not so numerous nor so considerable as to make this a Translation quite different from the *London Edition*, I was advised to print it of the same size, that my second Volume (of which I have taken care to have more copies drawn than of the first) might match both Editions, for the conveniency of those who don't care to buy *Julian's Life* twice. I hope the Subscribers will not find fault with that alteration, as they shall get above six hundred pages Duodecimo, instead of four hundred Octavo that were promised them.

Since I have spoken of the *London Edition* I must observe that this differs from it in two particulars, besides the alterations already mentioned, 1. I have left out of the margin all the Latin Translations of *Greek* passages,

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passages, because I don't see why a *Latin* Translation, by way of note, shoud be a better authority for any fact, than the *English* Translation of the same passage inserted in the text. I have also left out some few original passages, because they occur in some of the Dissertations in the second Volume, and I did not think it necessary to have them printed twice in the same work. 2. I have not reprinted the notes and other improvements of the *London* Editor upon the *French* Original, because, tho' I found them full of Learning, they did not appear to me such as coud throw any light either upon Julian's character or any particular transaction of his Reign; which was mine as well as F. *La Bleterrie*'s only aim, in making the Life of that Prince the subject of our inquiries.

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THE

THE FRENCH PREFACE.

I think myself obliged to lay before the public the occasion and motives of my writing the life of Julian. I happen'd some years since to light upon his works. In spite of that just horrour which I had conceived of him from his apostacy, I found him no less elegant, no less ingenious, and perhaps more worthy to be read, than several of the ancient Writers of the Pagan World. Besides that his morality is more refined than theirs, as having received a tincture of ours, I perceived in his writings a multitude of things useful to history; and many, contrary to the intention of the Author, highly advantageous and honourable to Religion. I reflected with concern that ill founded scruples shoud debar us from having a Translation in our own Language of what so highly deserved one. The Emperor Jovian, said I to myself, zealous as he was for the faith, did not think it inconsistent with the true spirit of Christianity, to adorn the tomb of Julian, and to bestow even on the ashes of that apostate Prince those honours which were due to his merit both as a man and an Emperor. Can it then be a crime

to vindicate from neglect the productions of his wit, and to retrieve them from the obscurity of the learned languages? The excellent Latin version of father Petav has already made Julian intelligible to those who did not sufficiently understand the Greek original; and the celebrated Satire upon the Cæsars, given us in French by M. Spanheim with a long and elaborate commentary, has enlightened the most learned without giving scandal to the most ignorant.

I shall not repeat all the reflections which I suggested to myself concerning the advantage to be reaped from Julian's works; that will be a subject for a more proper time and place. It is sufficient to say here, that I translated some of them, and at the same time proposed a translation of the rest. Hitherto, more pressing occasions have put a stop to my design of sending abroad what was in a condition to see the light: At length resolv'd to publish what I had ready, I thought I was under a necessity of drawing up a short abridgment of the character and actions of Julian, to serve as an Introduction to his works. But I was soon sensible that the pencil of a Plutarch was necessary, to paint Julian fully in the narrow compass of a Preliminary discourse. I was afraid to touch only superficially a subject which well deserv'd to be examin'd to the bottom; upon which I determined to write the Life of this prince at full length. Thus my translations naturally produced the scheme of

of a Preface: and the impossibility of saying in a Preface all I had to say has produced a Book, which will speedily be followed by my Translations, of which it is the fore-runner and Introduction.

The more I have studied Julian, either in his own writings, or in the other monuments of antiquity, the more I found myself interested in him. The contrast of his real vices and his seeming virtues, with the variety of incidents and adventures that attended him, form a small piece of history, in which is to be found the strictness of truth, with the surprise of fiction. If the picture is amusing, it is not less instructive. We see in it a composition defective and ill sorted, though formed from an assemblage of the most eminent qualities, because it is not reason and religion, but vanity alone that rules and directs them; we discern the emptiness and danger of human talents; and with what extravagancies a mind may be entertained that has lost a relish for truth, and is abandoned to its own inquietude. Man, let him use his utmost efforts to the contrary, is destined to believe and submit. If he shakes off the yoke of faith, he must sacrifice his reason to arbitrary, senseless opinions, more incomprehensible than the mysteries he rejects. Julian deserting the Christian religion to give himself up to the illusions of Paganism and Theurgy, is an example in which every unbeliever shoud more or less contemplate himself. The persecution

this prince raised against the Christians, opens an affecting scene, which constrains the supreme Being, if I may use the expression, to step forth from his secret place, to vindicate by new proofs Christianity attack'd in a new manner; and those proofs so glaring, that the Pagans themselves have transmitted them to posterity. In a word, it is a fruitful subject, and I think woud succeed even in the bands of an indifferent author.

Ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri. It is what, I confess, has encouraged me to undertake it.

I have no other view but to make him whose life I write thoroughly known. There are few princes, of whom we have more memorials, but, if I may be permitted to say so, most of these memorials have not been writ with proper coolness. 'Tis the lot of extraordinary men, to have both admirers and censurers too violent, especially when such important interests as those of Religion keep them at variance. The just indignation of the Christians against an Apostate and a Persecutor, has not always suffered them to attend to those qualities in him which deserved some regard. The blind gratitude of the Pagans towards the Restorer of Idolatry, has shut their eyes to his most essential faults. Not to mention the Orators, from whom we have no right to expect so scrupulous an exactness, the very Historians themselves cease to be

be Historians, when they begin to touch upon Julian, and become either his accusers, or his panegyrists. We must however except a small number of writers on both sides, who have done him tolerable justice.

We must not imagine that it is always impossible to reconcile the authors who have spoke the most differently of Julian. As they have not looked upon him in the same point of light: they say, it must be allowed, very different things of him, but not always entirely opposite; and for the generality, if the Christians and Pagans appear to contradict each other, it is because Julian himself was a heap of contradictions. M. Fleury observes judiciously, "that there was in this Prince such a mixture of good and bad qualities, that it is easy either to praise or to censure him, without any violation of truth."

As I have examined both the accusation and defence of Julian, and as what I present to my reader is the result of this examination, I have related impartially both the favourable and disadvantageous circumstances. I do not imagine that the good I have said of him will give uneasiness to the most tender consciences. It woud be setting too high a value upon human virtues, to persuade ourselves, contrary to the experience of all ages, that God has not sometimes granted them to his greatest enemies. I have represented those of Julian as they truly were,

B. 3 that

that is to say, always disfigured with some defect: Besides be turn'd them against the author of them, which ought to render them odious to us.

Some readers, perhaps, may think I too slightly pass over certain parts of his History, because I do not always give a detail of his military exploits, or describe his battles, &c. at length. But I beg they woud be pleased to keep in view the end which I have proposed, and to remember what Plutarch has said, in the beginning of the life of Alexander, purposely to obviate a like criticism.

" The greatest and most glorious exploits, says
 " he, are not always the surest indications of
 " the vices or virtues of the man; often a
 " slight circumstance, a word or repartee
 " give stronger proof of his natural turn,
 " than his defeating ten thousands, than
 " pitched battles, or besieged cities. In the
 " same manner then as limners endeavour on-
 " ly, or principally at least, to take those lines
 " and features of the face which express the
 " manners and genius of the person they por-
 " trait, without troubling themselves about
 " the other parts of the body; so we shoud be
 " allowed principally to study the specific
 " marks of the soul, and from thence to draw
 " a true copy of the life and manners of each
 " person we treat of; leaving Wars, Battles,
 " and other actions of eclat to the Historian's
 " province."

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THE



THE
LIFE
OF
JULIAN

The APOSTATE.

BOOK the First.

THE different ideas, which are formed of Julian, are as opposite as possible. Many, who know nothing of him but from his Apostacy, make him a monster like the *Neros* and *Domitians*. Others, dazzled with the lustre of his shining qualities, woud equal him to the *Trajans*, the *Antonines*, and the *Marcus Aurelius's*. For my part, though I am not surprized at either of these judgments, yet I can approve of neither of them. Julian doubtless possessed

sed great qualities : and that Religion, which commands us to pray for our Persecutors, whilst there is a possibility of their conversion, suffers us not to blacken their memories unjustly, when they have received their doom. But he had also great failings ; so that after having precisely distinguished the Apostle from the Philosopher and the Emperor, I find he was not so much a great man, as a singular one.

He had not that fund of good sense, which must be the fix'd point and centre upon which all the virtues turn ; which suffers no one of them to shine at the expence of any of the rest ; which never strains them too far ; which regulates and unites them, and, by a happy consent of all, forms the truly good man. An ungovernable passion for glory pushed him on with a kind of Enthusiasm to every thing that in his eyes appeared worthy of esteem : and, from a false taste, he esteemed every thing that cou'd make him singular. Exempt from those gross vices which humble the pride of man, he had those faults that flatter it, and such as, through self-love, we can perceive in others only.

Whilst he continued in the shade of private life, or possessed only the second rank, his fear of the Emperor Constantius regulated his good qualities, and suppressed his bad : but independency and sovereign pow-



er display'd the man entire. I shall endeavour to give a true portrait of him, by selecting from his words and actions those that are most expressive of his character. Though the events in which he bore a part may be interesting, and seem, by their variety, to correspond with the oddness of his turn of mind, yet I shall only touch upon them so far as they serve to make his person known, because it is his life I write, not his history.

* The Emperor *Constantius Chlorus* (a), the father of *Constantine the great*, left amongst other children *Julius Constantius*, a mild and moderate Prince, who saw without jealousy the diadem upon the head of his brother, and loved him always with a sincere affection. *Julius Constantius* married first *Galla*, by whom he had a daughter and two sons. The name of the former is unknown. The second was *Gallus the Cæsar*. After the death of *Galla*, *Julius Constantius* married *Basilina*, the daughter of the prefect *Julian* (b), who was the most illustrious

private

* Liban. Orat. x. p. 262. Du Cange Byz. Fam. Zonar. I. xiii.

(a) *Constantius Chlorus* was the son of *Eutropius*, a man of distinction, of one of the best families in *Illyria*; and of *Claudia* the daughter of *Crispus*, brother to the Emperor *Claudius II.*

(b) There is reason to believe, that this is *Anicius Julianus*, who was Consul in 322. The family of *Anicius*

private person of his age by his birth, his riches, and his interest; and perhaps the first Roman Senator, who made a public profession of Christianity. He had been engaged in the party of *Maxentius*: but *Constantine*, after the victory, revered in this great man his superior talents, and his virtue still superior to them. He made him Consul, Prefect, and at length his Brother-in-law. From the marriage of *Basilina* with *Julius Constantius*, sprung *Flavius Claudius Julianus* who was afterwards Emperor, born at *Constantinople*, November the 6th, 331 (c) under the consulate of *Bassus* and *Ablavius*. 'Tis said that *Basilina*, when she was ready to lie in, dreamed she brought *Achilles* into the world (d); and that upon her waking, whilst she related this dream,

Anicius was one of the most illustrious of *Rome* in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Its nobility was carried up even to the times of the Republic. We find a *L. Anicius Gallus* Consul, in the year of *Rome* 593 or 594. About the same time *Caius Anicius* had the honour of a triumph, and had his chariot led by *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, his captive.

(c) *M. du Cange* makes *Julian* born one year later. I have followed *M. de Tillement*, and shall generally do so, who deserves that preference from his wonderful exactness, and his love for truth, even in the minutest circumstances. I have received great assistance from him.

(d) *Zonaras* gathered these particulars, true or false, from some antient Author. It is not likely, that any of the later Greeks invented them.

she was delivered of *Julian* almost without pain.

* *Julian* lost his mother (e) whilst he was yet in the cradle. He was but just six years old, when he had like to have been killed in the destructive Tragedy, which followed soon after the death of *Constantine*. Under the pretext of ascertaining the Empire to the children of that Prince, and preventing a civil war, the Army revolted against all the rest of the Imperial family. The Emperor *Constantius*, the only one of the three *Augustus*'s who had it in his power to stop the sedition, was perhaps the author of it. His two uncles, one of whom, *viz.* *Julius Constantius*, was also his father-in-law, (f) and his cousin-germans to the number of seven, were the victims of his policy, or at least of his weakness. *Gallus* and *Julian* woud have met the same fate as their Father and their eldest Brother, if

* *Jul. Misopogon.* Id. ad Athen. Greg. Nazianzen. Or. iii. p. 58, 90, Hieron. Chron. Zos. lib. ii.

(e) This Princess died in the flower of her age. She appears to have been an *Arian* and a persecutress, which is not surprising, if she was related to *Eusebius of Nicomedia*. It is certain that *Julian* was a distant relation of this Bishop, says *Ammianus*: probably by the side of *Basilina*, whose mother, the maternal grandmother of *Julian*, might be of *Ionia* or *Bythinia*.

(f) The Emperor *Constantius* had married the daughter of *Julius Constantius*. The name of this Princess is not known.

some faithful friends had not concealed them, at the first breaking out of the fury of the murderers. (g) The celebrated *Mark*, Bishop of *Aretbusa*, was one of those who assisted in saving *Julian*, under whose reign he was afterwards so cruelly treated.

* *Constantius* could not long be ignorant of what had become of the two Princes; as soon as he knew it, it is said he deliberated whether he shoud put them to death; but as such an execution in cold blood could not have been imputed to the cruelty of the Soldiery, he determined to spare them. Besides, it appeared that *Gallus*, then but thirteen, was seized with a disease which was thought to be mortal; and *Julian* was not yet of an age to occasion any fears: he contented himself then with placing them at a distance. *Gallus* was banished into *Ionia*, and *Julian* sent to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, his relation. This famous courtly Prelate, the head and soul of the *Arian* Party, was far from being a proper person

(g) They seem to have been concealed in the Church. St. *Basil*, priest of *Ancyra*, who was martyred in the persecution of *Julian*, says that this ungrateful Prince had forgot the holy altar, which had been to him an asylum. "Non est recordatus quomodo eruerit eum [Deus] per sanctos suos sacerdotes, abscondens eum sub sancto et admirabili altari ecclesiae suae." V. *acta sincera*.

* *Jul.* ad *Athen.* *Id.* *Misop.* *Socr.* lib. iii. c. 1. *Amm.* *Marcel.* lib. xxii. c. 12.

to give him a just idea of Religion: but he might be more capable than any other of entering into the views, which Constantius had even then, perhaps, upon this young Prince, of inducing him to become an Ecclesiastic. Constantius had seized upon all the effects of Julian, and restored only those of his Mother. The most valuable part of this possession was a Governor, named Mardonius. He was an Eunuch, by nation a Scythian, whom the maternal Grandfather of Julian had caused to be educated with care, that he might explain Homer and Hesiod to Basilia. Mardonius was not less studious of forming the morals of his disciple, than of cultivating his genius. Above all, he endeavoured to inspire him with sedateness and modesty, a contempt for the pleasures of sense, an aversion for the theatre, and an esteem for a serious and retired life. He suffered him to know his way no whither but to his masters; and obliged him, as he went thither, to walk with his eyes cast down. In a word, he indulged him in no amusements but those of reading, and principally the beautiful descriptions in Homer.

Such an Education must have disgusted Julian, if he had had less taste or less capacity

• Jul. Ep. ix. ep. lvi. Id. Or. iii. Eutrop. lib. xvi. c. 15. Eunap. vita Max. p. 68. Liban. Or. xi. p. 265, Socr. lib. iii. cap. 1.

pacity for Learning: but from his infancy an insatiable curiosity directed the turn of his lively and ardent genius towards the Sciences. His penetration and his quickness were attended with a surprising memory: he read continually, retained all he read, and never forgot what he had once learnt; so that his masters complained they had nothing more to teach him. *Julian* at first studied Grammar, according to the custom of the Ancients, who woud have their children learn their own language by rule, and speak it with purity. *Latin* was still the language of the Empire, and was made use of in all publick acts. But after the foundation of *Constantinople*, *Greek* was usually spoken, even at Court. It was in some degree the native language of *Julian*: he applied himself therefore extremely to reading the writers of ancient *Greeks*, and by his assiduous intimacy with these great Masters, he became himself, like them, an Original: at the same time he neglected not the *Latin*, though he did not bestow so much study upon it. Surrounded with *Greeks*, a people accustomed to esteem only their own Language and their own Nation, he by that means imbibed their prejudices, and even their *Pædantry*, and always piqued himself more upon being a *Greek* than a *Roman*: besides, their design was not to form an Emperor, but

but only a man of learning; and the *Greek* was sufficient for that purpose. He learned however the *Latin*, as much as was necessary to enable him to speak it with facility. He had also a taste for Poetry. We have still remaining of his some few verses, in which there appear strokes of delicacy and genius. When he was Emperor, he shewed his great esteem for music, by assigning a fund for the educating young Musicians in the city of *Alexandria*, and by promising liberal rewards to those who excelled in that art, which he called divine. It is impossible to read his works without being convinced that he was ignorant of nothing, which was then necessary to be known, to render a man an universal Scholar.

* At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he was taken from the Schools, to be confined with his brother *Gallus*, who had been conveyed from *Ionia* into a Castle in *Cappadocia*, situate at the foot of mount *Argeus*. This was a Royal Palace called *Macellum*, not far distant from *Casarea* the capital of the Province. Though the two brothers were treated there as Princes, this Castle, if we may credit *Julian*, was only a magnificent prison to them.

“ During the six years, says he in his manifesto to the *Atbenians*, that we passed

“ in

¶ *Sozomen. l. v. c. 2. Jul. ad Athen.*

“ in a place that was none of ours, we
“ were confined as if we had been pris-
“ oners in some Castle of *Perſia*. None of
“ our friends had the privilege of coming
“ to us; we were neither allowed to learn
“ any thing that was worth learning, nor
“ to see any person of distinction: in the
“ midst of a numerous and magnificent
“ household, we were compelled to have
“ no companions but our own slaves, and
“ with them to perform our exercises.
“ The young people of our own age, who
“ were of better birth, coud not approach
“ us.—If my brother had any thing harsh
“ or rustic in his nature, he acquired it
“ partly from this solitary education.”

* Yet St. *Gregory Nazianzen* assures us, that the Emperor had appointed for them at *Macellum* all proper masters: but *Julian* it is probable, who was then an Apostate, reckoned as nothing, or rather as bad company, those masters who were Christians, and charged with the instruction of him and his brother in the true Religion, even more than in human Learning. They did not confine themselves barely to instruct them in the doctrines of this divine Philosophy: they exercised them also in the practise of those works it enjoins: They care-

* *Greg. Or. iii. 58. Eunap. V. Max. 68. Sozom. I. v. 2. Theodoret. I. iii. 2.*

carefully explained to them the sacred books: they accustomed them to watching, fasting, and prayer, to respect the Ecclesiastics, to frequent the tombs of the Martyrs, and to make donations to the Churches. The two brothers were even ordained Lecturers, and, in that quality, publickly read the Holy Scriptures in the Church of Nicomedia.

I know not whether this was the proper method of conduct to a mind capable of such violent sallies, as was that of Julian: by confining him to a life overburthened with exercises of piety, and affecting to multiply duties in order to attach him to Religion, they perhaps contributed in reality to disengage him from it. These new ties coming primarily from the hand of *Constantius*, the hand of an Enemy, and justly suspected of policy, were proper to create in his heart a Fund of antipathy against Christianity, even without his own perceiving it.

* It is said that from this time he discovered some inclination towards Idolatry. When the controversy between the Christians and the Pagans was proposed as a subject of declamation to him and his brother, he took upon himself to plead the Pagan cause, under the pretext that it was more difficult, and he set it off with all the art he was master of. We are even assured that God

him-

* Greg. Or. iii. p. 61. 59. Sozom. l. v. c. 2.
Theodoret. l. iii. c. 2.

himself gave it to understand by a Prodigy, that the service of *Julian* was not agreeable to him. The two Princes had undertaken to erect a Church upon the place where St. *Mamas* was buried, an illustrious martyr of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*. This work was divided between them, and each carried on the part that was fallen to his share, in emulation of the other. Whilst the labours of *Gallus* advanced, an invisible hand, it is said, opposed those of *Julian*. Sometimes the foundations could not be laid, sometimes the earth threw them up again: and the structure carried to some height with much time and labour, was suddenly thrown down, so that it was impossible to be completed. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* says that he had this fact from those who were eye-witnesses of it; and *Sozomen* pretends to have heard it from those who had seen some such witnesses.

* They had been six years in the castle of *Macellum*, when *Constantius*, who had been left the only *Augustus* by the deaths of *Constantine* and *Constans* his Brothers and Collegues, being obliged to make war against *Magnentius* in the West, threatened by an irruption of the *Persians* in the East, and finding himself without children and without nephews, was constrained to seek for an assistant

* *Idat. Chron. Alexand. Socr. L. ii. cap. 28. Eu-
nep. V. M. p. 68.*

assistant in the person of *Gallus*. He created him (b) *Cæsar* the 15th of March 351; and having given him *Constantina* his sister in marriage, he sent him to *Antioch*, from whence he was to preside over all the East. The new fortune of *Gallus*, and the representations of those who had the care of *Julian*, obtained for him the liberty of coming to *Constantinople* in order to compleat his studies. The schools were flourishing in that great City: they were frequented by many Sophists; so they called the Professors of eloquence. That name was then honourable,

(b) The Emperors gave the name of *Cæsar* to those whom they destined to the Empire; but did not confer upon them the titles of *Imperator* or *Augustus*: that woud have been actually associating them to themselves, these two last titles denoting sovereign power. That of *Cæsar* was properly only a designation to that power and adoption into the Imperial family. Before *Diocletian* there had already been several Emperors and several *Cæsars* at the same time: but these Emperors possessed the Empire undivided. They were joint-sovereigns of all who obeyed the *Romans*. *Diocletian* introduced a new form of Government, and divided the *Roman* provinces. Each Emperor had his allotment: the *Cæsars* had also theirs; but they were below the Emperors; and were obliged to respect them as their fathers: they coud not rise to the first rank, but by the permission of him who had made them *Cæsars*, or by his death: they received their principal Officers from his hand; nor did they usually wear the diadem, which the *Augustus's* used to do from the time of *Diocletian*.

urable, tho', to say the truth, it might have been given to almost all who bore it in the ill sense in which we now understand it. The Rhetoric they taught was the art of declaiming upon all kinds of subjects, for or against, in a plausible manner, and of seducing the hearer by common place fallacies and popular topics, without concerning themselves about the truth.

* *Libanius*, a native of *Antioch*, esteemed the most eloquent Sophist of that age, was returned from *Nicomedia* to the Capital almost at the same time with *Julian*: but notwithstanding his reputation, he had the mortification to see the young Prince in other hands, whom they took care not to trust to the tuition of a declared Pagan. *Eusebius* had the preference, tho', if we will credit *Libanius*, he was no great master of his profession: but the Court was determined to reward his zeal for the true Religion; a zeal however, which was the more violent as it was probably counterfeit: for there never was a more supple conscience than that of the Sophist, who was constantly of the Religion of the Sovereign, and perhaps in reality of none. Under *Constantius* he had worked himself into vogue by his invectives against the Gods of the Pagans. He declaimed afterwards for the same Gods, and

* *Liban. de vita sua. Id. Or. x. p. 263. Socr. l. iii. c. 13.*

and his zeal once more supplied the want of talents, when Julian his pupil opened the Temples again. At the first news of that Prince's death, he acted the part of a penitent: he was seen extended upon the ground at the doors of the Church, crying out to the faithful with a lamentable voice, *Trample me under foot, I am as salt that has lost its savour.*

Such was the Sophist who was chose to be the master of Julian. He, who by education and custom was as yet a Christian, listened to him without difficulty, and went to hear his lessons, always accompanied by the wife *Mardonius*, and by another man of Learning. His habit was plain; he had a modest and affable air; answered all who applied themselves to him, without rejecting even the meanest; and distinguished himself from the other Students, no otherwise than by his genius and his industry. He listened with the same attention as they did, stood up with them, came in and went out with them. By his appearance he woud never have been taken for a near Relation of the Emperor, or for the brother of the *Cæsar*.

* His merit was distinguished at *Constantinople*, and they began to say he was worthy to reign. The Emperor, who had appeared

* Liban. Or. x. p. 263, 264. Jul. ep. xli. Socrat. l. iii. c. 2. Sozom. l. v. c. 2.

to favour his studies, even so far as to give him subjects to declaim upon, was alarmed at these discourses, (i) and commanded him to retire to *Nicomedia*, or to whatever other part of *Asia Minor* he thought proper. But as *Libanius* was also returned to *Nicomedia*, *Constantius* expressly forbid him from going to hear him. *Ecebolus* also made him promise with the most dreadful imprecations never to be the disciple of *Libanius*: precautions that woud naturally excite in *Julian* a stronger inclination for that Sophist. Nevertheless, when he was in *Asia*, he paid a due regard to the prohibition of the Emperor, and his own promises: but he secretly, and at a great expence, procured the pieces of *Libanius* to be brought to him, so that he succeeded in imitating his style, much better than any of those, that attended his lessons. By comparing their works, we find in reality that *Julian* resembles *Libanius*, (k) but it is with a handsome likeness, and in the same manner as a Person of Quality, who speaks well without affecting to do so, may be said to resemble a Rhetorician who makes it his study.

* *Julian* was not so much taken up with his

(i) Ταῦτα εὖν εἴα καθενδεῖν Κωνσάνην, *Liban.*

(k) Οθεν, ομων, καὶ τοῖς ὑπερου ὡς' αὐτοῦ πεποιημένοις λόγοις ἐν τὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγγενὲς, καὶ ἔδοξεν εἰς εἶναι τῶν πεπληστανότων, *Liban.*

* Greg. Or. iii. p. 61. Jul. ad Themist. Id. fragm.

his studies, but that he found means to employ in doing good that freedom which the Emperor had left him, and that kind of interest which was given him by the elevation of *Gallus*. He made several journeys into different provinces of *Achaia*, to assist his friends, sometimes without their requiring it, and even at the expence of his health: but he was not blinded by his friendships; for in *Ionia* he employed his power against one of his Relations, his intimate friend, who was in the wrong, in favour of a Sophist, who was a stranger, and scarce known to him. Though he was far from being rich, he was extremely liberal: he writes thus afterwards upon that subject when he was Emperor: “ Shew me the man who has impoverished himself by his alms. Mine have always enriched me, notwithstanding my want of œconomy. — I have often experienced it when I was a private man; by sharing with the poor the little I had left, I recovered from the hands of the usurpers the possession of my Grandmother: let us therefore give to every body, more liberally to those who are worthy; but without refusing what is necessary to any person, not even to our enemy; for (1) it is not to the morals, or to the character we give, but to the man.” Julian always

(1) Τῷ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ, οὐ τῷ τρίποδι δίδομεν.

ways valued himself upon practising this maxim ; happy if he had adhered to the true Religion from whence he learned it.

We have already said that from the time he resided at *Macellum*, he had always discovered some opposition to Christianity : his hatred for the Emperor *Constantius*, a most zealous Christian, tho' a persecutor of the Catholics, was perhaps the origin of it : but that submission likewise of the understanding which faith exacts, might disgust an inquisitive mind, which was vain of its human learning. He was shocked, no doubt, at those fatal divisions which then rent the Church, especially with that scandalous controversy whether Jesus Christ was the sovereign God, or only a creature ; at the degeneracy of the Christians, the violences exercised by the Arian faction against the Orthodox, and at the political intrigues and weakness of the principal members of the Clergy. By continually reading the Heathen writers, he had familiarised himself to their manner of thinking ; the immoderate esteem he had for the great men of Antiquity, insensibly inclined him to wish they might always be in the right. Thus in the beginning of the sixteenth century, some of the Learned who contributed to the re-establishment of Literature, were as it is said, Pagans in their hearts, more out of Pedantry than

than libertinism ; so that with their good-will, they woud have restored the gods of *Homer* and *Virgil*.

Julian was under a temptation, attended with much more delicate circumstances. The Edicts of *Constantine* had given a shock to Paganism, without entirely destroying it : Sacrifices were prohibited, but the most celebrated Temples still subsisted ; though it was forbid to enter them, yet the sight of them kept up the remembrance of the Pagan feasts ; those feasts so gay and alluring to a corrupted imagination. Nay even in many places they were not shut, especially at *Rome*, where the majesty of the Senate authorised the antient ceremonies. Professed Pagans still filled some of the first posts of the Empire : an infinite number of all ranks of people had been forced into the Church with the croud, and by the torrent of example, without quitting their former prejudices. But Idolatry had no firmer support than in the Men of learning : all who had Julian's esteem, Grammarians, Poets, Sophists, Philosophers, if we except a small number, held for the ancient superstitions.

* As they were conscious of the folly of them, and the Christians were continually laying it open before their eyes, they em-

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ployed

* *Greg. N. Or. iii. p. 104, 105, 106. Jul. Or. viii. Or. vii.*

ployed their utmost sense and learning, to give a plausible turn to Paganism, and form a less unreasonable system of it. They confessed that the Mythology taken literally was not to be defended ; but at the same time it contained, according to them, under the emblem of fictions, all the depths of Physics, Morality, and Theology. The absurdity of the letter shewed plainly enough that you ought to go farther, and penetrate through the veil to discover a sense more sublime. An air of mystery was suitable to truth. She was thus veiled, to render her the more venerable to those who sought after her, and to conceal her from those who did not render themselves worthy of her by their researches.

* As to the rest, they professed to acknowledge one sole supreme God, the source and principle of all Beings. The other Deities were, some of them, his attributes personized, and others subaltern ministers, of whom he was the Father and the Sovereign. He had stamped upon the face of nature the image of his perfections. The Universe was to be considered as a draught, of which the great God was at once the copier and the original : thus by honouring the creature, said they, we do homage to the Creator. Nature was peopled with Gods,

or

• Jul. Ep. Ixiii. Id. apud. Cyrill. l. ii. l. iv. l. viii.
Id. or. vii. Id. fragm.

or Genii of different kinds, who put her springs in motion, and regulated her operations. These Intelligences presided over the Stars, the Earth, the Sea, Kingdoms, Cities, particular Places, the Sciences, the Arts, the Virtues, each according to the post their common master had been pleased to assign them. Virtuous souls, having quitted their bodies, were admitted into the number of the Gods, under the name of Heroes or Demi-gods. It was just to honour the Gods and the Heroes, as the Deputies of the sovereign Majesty, and the Dispensers of his benefits.

In regard to the worship of Images, they said that the object of it was not the brass or the marble, but the God to whom the Statue was consecrated. Being united to a portion of matter, it was necessary for us to have corporeal Symbols, which might receive those exterior marks of attention and respect, that we could not address to the Gods immediately. This material worship pleased them, because they knew the motive of it. 'Tis thus, said they, the Emperors are pleased with us for the honour we pay their Images, though they could be content to be without it. They did not fail to support these reasonings by Oracles and pretended Prodigies, by popular traditions erected into authentic facts, by the examples of so many ages, and such various Nations; and,

in fine, by the prosperity of the *Romans*, whose conquests had sufficiently justified their Religion. (m) Such was the method

employed

(m) This exposition of Paganism was not new. Long before, the Philosophers especially the Platonists, shocked with a Religion unworthy both of God, and man, not knowing, or not having the courage to embrace a better, endeavoured to spiritualize the reigning opinions, and to adjust them to the sounder ideas they had of the Divine nature. But their efforts did more honour to their wit than their sincerity : for, in the first place, reflections made afterwards could not new mould Paganism, which is essentially bad, since it consists in rendering to the creature an homage which is not due to it, substituting that in the place of the Creator, and confounding them together. The system of the Philosophers was not that of the Multitude ; who, not to speak of the direct and immediate worship which they paid to Statues, Animals, &c. adored vicious and abominable Beings, whom they acknowledged as such, and pretended to do honour to them by crimes. They attributed to the sovereign God, in the person of *Jupiter*, all the infamous actions imaginable. There was nothing so obscene nor so scandalous in the Mythology, but they understood it in the literal sense. To prevent all chicanery, I desire the reader to observe, that the Philosophers had not it in their Power to shew the people that they had lost the spirit of their Religion, or that Paganism had been originally such as they endeavoured to represent it. It had not then, nor ever had, original Records which contained its principles ; no Law-giver, to whose writings they might appeal to reform abuses which arose in succeeding ages. It was a body of Chimeras formed by accident out of the wandering deliria of the human mind, and whose origin was

different

employed to gloss over the defects of Paganism and to disguise its errors.

C 3

* Julian

different in different places. In general, the love of sensible objects laid the foundation of it. Equivocal uncertainties, mistake, ignorance, caprice, the several passions, flattery, respect and gratitude of a Nation for its Chief, its Legislator, and other dead persons whose lives had been useful to the Society, and lastly, the fictions of the Poets, raised this monstrous edifice. The last pieces, of the system were as authentic as the first. 'Tis not then either in the subtleties, or in the uselefs wishes of the Philosophers, that the true notion of Idolatry is to be sought for. It must be taken from the belief of the people, and from the worship which was equally common to the vulgar, and the pretended sages, who, tho' they were Philosophers in speculation, yet followed the people in practise, and even set them examples. Secondly, It follows from what I have said, that the Apologists of Paganism spake to the wind when they advanced that all the Mythology and all their worship was allegorical. The letter is incredible and absurd, said they; we must therefore go deeper, and seek for another sence. But we might stop their mouths by replying: Begin then by demonstrating that the authors of these fables and these ceremonies designed to make them Emblems, or else prove once throughly, that whatsoever is extravagant is symbolical and mysterious, and that there is no madness but what conceals some truth. Besides, might we add, a Religion which has no tendency to render Mankind better, carries its condemnation in the face of it. Now Paganism, even supposing it to be allegorical, is only proper to support human nature in its corruptions, and plunge it still deeper. Men are indolent and corrupt. The number of those who think, is much the smallest. Whilst you present them with emblems, which flatter

their

* Julian being in *Asia* at absolute liberty of conversing with learned men of all sorts, must have frequently heard such Apologies artfully made, and strengthened with all that Pagan incredulity objected against our Religion. Faith was insensibly extinguished in his heart. He was on the brink of the precipice : But the force of education supported him 'till he was of the age of twenty. It was then that the desire of searching into futurity made him consult a Soothsayer, who had escaped from the rigour of the laws, and kept himself concealed in *Nicomedia*. We know not what this man foretold him ; but that his predictions struck him, and prejudiced him much in favour of Idolatry. But the fatal glory of entirely seducing this unhappy Prince was referred to the Platonist Philosophers.

† The Platonism of that time was not the pure doctrine of Plato. They had joined their irregular appetites, they will always take them litterilly, and will never strain their thoughts to find out a hidden meaning at the expence of their passions. To relate fables that canonize vice, is doubtless a pleasant manner of establishing virtue ! It woud be as efficacious as poison given to the sick, because by the aid of Chemistry an excellent remedy might be extracted from it. I might give further scope to these reflections, and add others to them : But what I have said, is already too much by way of note.

* Jul. Ep. li. Liban. Or. Consul. p. 175.

† Spanheim præf. in Julian. Eunap. vit. Ædefisi, p. 33, 63.

joined to it several tenets of other Philosophers, and particularly the Cabala of the Orientals. In this Sect they taught a common Philosophy to all who came ; but kept a profound silence as to the mysterious part of the system, and especially after the Emperors became Christians : for they pardoned nothing that had the appearance of Magic. These Philosophers never disclosed themselves but to people of tried fidelity, or whom they were sure of otherways. These they taught an occult Philosophy concerning the different kinds of Divination, the nature and subordination of the Gods and Genii ; the secret manner of worshipping them, and the ceremonies necessary to enter into a correspondence with them. For the Platonists promised to render man perfect and happy, by procuring him an intimate union with the Divinity : And as, according to Plato, the immense space which separates us from the Deity, is filled with Beings subordinate to each other, they pretended, by the help of a long chain of Heroes, Genii, and Gods, to carry the soul to the immediate vision of the sovereign God, there to become itself a Deity, by being absorb'd and lost in the abyss of truth, being, and goodness. Their science was called Theurgy. The Christians and Heathens agreed that there was something supernatural in this Sect. And, it must be own'd, arrogant mortals,

mortals, who disdained the intervention of the sole and only Mediator, deserved to have, without perceiving it, the Powers of darkness for their Guides. If God permitted the Father of lyes to raise up *Jannes* and *Jambres* to resist *Moses*; if he is one day to suffer him to work miracles by the Man of sin; he may have suffered him to use the same efforts, to prevent the fall of Idolatry.

Perhaps also all the Magic of the Platonists may be reduced to the knowledge of secrets merely natural, accompanied with much quackery and imposture. Since their Theurgic mysteries tended to the support of Paganism, those Philosophers were doubtless the instruments of the Devil. But without his personal interposition, it is not impossible but that deceivers, acted by his spirit, might succeed in dazzling the eyes of a young Prince of twenty, whose passion for the marvellous carried him into every snare they coud lay for him.

Edesius then the Chief of the Platonists, the disciple and successor of *Jamblichus*, resided at *Pergamus* a City of *Myza*. The reputation of his learning drew *Julian* thither, who arrived at *Pergamus* with all the magnificence of a great Prince: for he possessed, says *Eunapius*, immense revenues. This was from his having lately succeeded to the possessions of his grandmother. *Ede-*
sius

sius was sunk with age and infirmities : But his mind was still so sound and vigorous, that *Julian* could not recover from the surprize it put him into. That Prince woud not leave him, and woud have exhausted immediately, if he could, all the science of this Philosopher. He sent him great presents, which the old man constantly refused.

* *Edesius* having one day invited *Julian* to come to him, spake to him thus. " A-
" miable child of wisdom, you know by
" my discourses what my soul feels for
" you ; but my body is not able to obey
" its motions ; 'tis, as you see, an antient
" edifice which threatens a speedy ruin. I
" advise you therefore to search out my
" true children. In them you shall find
" an inexhaustible source of light and wis-
" dom. If you have ever the happiness to
" be initiated into their mysteries, you will
" blush to be a man ; you will no longer
" be able to bear that name. Why have
" we not *Maximus* here ! He unluckily is at
" *Ephesus*, and *Priscus* is departed for
" *Greece*. *Eusebius* and *Chrysanthius* re-
" main with us. By taking their lessons,
" you will ease a feeble old man, who is
" no longer able to teach you.

C 5. Upon

* *Eunap.* vit. *Iambli.* p. 32. *Vit. Max.* p. 69,
70.

Upon this *Julian* attach'd himself to these two disciples of *Edefius*, without however giving over seeing him. *Chrysanthius* was prejudiced, like *Maximus*, in favour of *Theurgy*. *Eusebius* seemed to despise it. The latter, who had some share of eloquence, shone in the absence of *Maximus*. *Chrysanthius* applauded him, and *Julian* liked him extremely. *Eusebius* usually concluded with these words : “ These are what may be called solid truths ; for as to the Prodigies of the pretended workers of Miracles, they are illusions and extravagancies, fit to be left to those madmen, who have a commerce with the material Powers.” *Julian*, constantly hearing the same thing, took *Chrysanthius* in private, and said to him, If you love truth, my dear *Chrysanthius*, I conjure you, explain to me those words which *Eusebius* eternally repeats to us. You woud do better, returned *Chrysanthius* with an air of mystery, to address yourself to him.

* The Prince did not fail to do so at the first interview ; and *Eusebius* replied thus : “ *Maximus* is one of the most able disciples of *Edefius* ; but he gives into extravagancies. Not long since he conducted us all together to the temple of “ *Hecate*.

* Id. ib. p. 73.

“ *Hecate*. When we were arrived there and
“ had saluted the Goddess, he said to us: My
“ dear friends, be seated. You shall see
“ whether I am a common man. We sat
“ down; he purified a grain of incense,
“ and recited in a whisper I know not what
“ hymn. Immediately the Statue of the
“ Goddess began to smile. We were af-
“ frightened: But he said to us, This is on-
“ ly a trifle. The flam-beaux that she
“ holds shall light themselves. In reality,
“ before he had done speaking the flam-
“ beaux were lighted. We were struck
“ for a moment with these delusions: But
“ there is nothing in them that surprises
“ me, or ought to astonish you. The es-
“ sential business is to purify our reason.”
“ I leave you with your reasonings, re-
“ turn’d *Julian* abruptly. Adieu; you
“ have shown me the man I want.” He
embraced *Chrysanthius* tenderly, and set out
for *Ephesus*. In this detail which I have
extracted from *Eunapius*, a disciple of
Chrysanthius, a plot seems to me to have
been laid between these Philosophers, who
had divided their parts, in order to give a
high idea of their Mysteries without run-
ning any hazard. Mistrusting the levity
of *Julian*, they did not disclose themselves:
But prompted his curiosity, and got their
end in throwing him into the hands of
Maximus, more daring than they were, and
more

more capable of compleating this important conquest.

* *Maximus of Ephesus* was a man now advanced in years, who wore a long white beard; of good birth and fortune, had a lively genius, piercing eyes, a strong and an insinuating speech, a rapid eloquence. The force of his voice and the motion of his eyes were so happily suited, that he enchanted all who approach'd him, and made himself attended to as an Oracle. *Julian* yielded himself up to his conduct without reserve, and as soon as he had imbibed his lessons, he broke, says *Libanius*, like an enraged lion, through all the tyes which attach'd him to the Christian Religion.

Maximus, who perhaps wanted the assistance of a second, persuaded him to send for *Chrysanthius*: And these two Philosophers, experienced as they were, were scarce sufficient with their utmost efforts to satisfy the eagerness of their disciple, who imagined he had learnt nothing so long as any thing was left unlearnt. They at length introduced him into the secret of their Mysteries. + 'Tis said that the Philosopher who was to initiate him (who without doubt

* Id. ib. p. 6, 7, 73, 74, 76. Liban. paneg. 17.

+ Theodoret. 1. iii. c. 3. Greg. Nyf. or. iii. p. 71.

was *Maximus*) having carried him into a Temple, made them descend into a subterranean grott. When the evocations were concluded, on a sudden a dreadful noise was heard ; and Spectres of fire appeared. Julian, yet a Novice, was seiz'd with fear, and habitually made the sign of the cross. All disappear'd at that instant ; and the same thing having happened twice, Julian coud not forbear saying to *Maximus*, that he admired the power of this sign of the Christians. *Maximus*, who saw his Profelyte stagger'd, said to him with an air of enthusiasm : *How then, do you imagine you have terrified the Gods ? No, Prince : But the Gods will have no commerce with one profane as you are.* Julian was satisfied with this excuse, disturbed the ceremony no more, and suffered himself to be initiated.

What is certain is, that *Maximus* predicted the Empire to him ; that he dazzled his eyes with the extraordinary project of destroying the then reigning Religion to restore that of his Ancestors ; and that by the force of predictions, flatteries and delusions, he made him the most convinced and enthusiastic Pagan that ever lived. If Julian adopted but in part the popular fables, the marvellous things he either really saw, or imagined he saw, under the direction of *Maximus*, made him adopt the Pagan worship

ship in its utmost extent. His credulous and superstitious soul embraced this extravagant worship, as the only one that could do honour to the Deity.

* Julian looked upon himself now wholly in the light of a Prince called by the Gods to be the restorer of their altars. He sighed when he considered the condition of Paganism, he even melted into tears at the ruin and desertion of their Temples, the spoils of which had been a prey to the favourites of Constantius. He frequently said to his friends that, if he became Emperor, the world shoud be happy: and the foundation of that happiness which he promised to the Universe was the re-establishment of Idolatry, which he called the true piety. From that time he began to reign in the hearts of those Pagans, who knew of his change. They offered sacrifices for him in secret. Some undertook journeys, solely to see and to hear him whom they already considered as their deliverer.

† However Julian still kept on the appearance of Christianity; and to compleat his hypocrisy, knowing that some suspicion of what had passed had reached the Court,
 Liban. or. x. p. 266. Idem, paneg. 174. Socr. 1. iii. c. 7.
 Sozom. 1. v. c. 2. Socr. 1. viii. c. 1. Philostorg. 1. iii. 27. Ep. Galli Cæf. apud Jul. Jul. ad Ath.

he caused his head to be shaved, (n) and embraced the monastic life. He performed the office of Reader in the Church of *Nicomedia*, frequented the places consecrated to prayer, and never quitted the tombs of the Martyrs. By this profound dissimulation, which the Pagans themselves ought to have condemned, he succeeded in deceiving *Constantius* and *Gallus*. The latter, who to many vices joined an appearance of outward sanctity, which is of little trouble and yet contents the professor, alarmed with the reports that were spread of his brother, dispatched a celebrated Arian bishop to him named *Aetius*, to strengthen him in the Christian Religion. *Aetius* returned well pleas'd with *Julian*, of whom he gave a good report to *Gallus*. We have yet a letter from this Prince to *Julian*, in which he congratulates him on his perseverance, and exhorts him never to degenerate from himself. As to any thing farther, the two brothers had scarce any intercourse. They writ to each other seldom, and only upon trifles; not out of a mutual indifference, (for they loved each other tenderly) but to humour the delicacy of *Constantius*, a suspicious and timid Prince, always ready to sacrifice to his own safety

the

(n) Εν χρω τε κειραμενος τὸν τῶν μοναχῶν ὑπεκρινετα
βίον. *Socrat.* Εν χρω ἐκείπατο καὶ τὸν μοναχικὸν ἐπλαγέ-
τετο βίον. *Sozom.*

the blood that ought to have been most dear to him. And yet notwithstanding all these precautions, *Julian* was very near being swallowed up in the ruin of his brother.

* *Constantius* had begun to conceive an envy against *Gallus*, from the time he had made him *Cæsar*. This mean jealousy had been augmented by some advantages which this *Cæsar* had gained over the *Persians*, + who had been in possession of vanquishing *Constantius*, always unfortunate in foreign wars. The Eunuchs and the flatterers, who made this Emperor their bubble and their slave, perceiving his foible, omitted nothing on the one hand to prejudice him against *Gallus*, and on the other, to lead that young Prince into wrong steps, by irritating him with letters and secret intelligences. *Gallus* naturally credulous and of an untractable temper, and yet farther incensed by his wife *Constantina*, (o) whom the Historians describe as a blood thirsty Fury, gave but too easily into the views of his enemies by his cruelties and ill conduct. The Eunuchs accused him of aspiring to independency and a design to make himself proclaimed *Augustus*. His

* Jul. ad Athen. Philostorg. l. iii. 28. Eutrop. l. x.

+ Zosim. l. iii, Amm. l. xiv. Lib. or. x. 266.

(o) Megæra quædam mortalis, inflammatrix fævientis assidua, &c. Ammian.

ruin was determined. *Constantius* by a stratagem drew him into the West, where he first caused him to be deprived of the Purple, and then of his Life. (p) Thus perished *Gallus* at the age of twenty nine, after having more than once felt the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune. He was cousin-german to *Constantius* and doubly his brother-in-law. Nature had endowed him with an advantageous appearance proper to inspire respect: But he had not a capacity for governing, even by the confession of his brother. He had born the title of *Cæsar* about four years.

* The authors of this cruel intrigue ran too great a hazard while they suffered *Julian* to live. Upon the most frivolous pretexts therefore they involved him in the crimes of *Gallus*. He was arrested and put into the custody of such inhuman guards, that he frequently wished himself in a prison. They dragged him from place to place for seven months, and at length conducted him to *Milan*, where the Court then was. He remained there for a considerable time between life and death, accused by the Eunuchs, and protected by the Empress *Eusebia*. That Princess who had

(p) He caused him to be beheaded at Flanon in Dalmatia.

* Liban. Or. x. p. 266, 267. Jul. ad. Athen. Ammian. l. xxii. c. 16. Zosim. l. ii. (v)

a great love for the sciences, and a compassionate heart for the unhappy (q), employed in favour of *Julian* all the power her beauty and virtue gave her over the mind of the Emperor. But it was to be feared, that her credit coud not hold out against the enormous power of the enemies of *Gallus*, and in particular of the Eunuch *Eusebius*, great Chamberlain, the most dangerous of them all.

* *Julian* was carefully guarded ; all his words were watched ; his thoughts they woud have been glad to have dived into, to have imputed them to him as crimes. He had been lost beyond all resource, if he had dropped the least complaint. He was obliged to conceal within his breast the anguish of his soul for the losf of his brother, and for his own personal misfortunes : (r) A dreadful situation for a Prince who was not naturally master of his tongue. *Julian* had so much courage as not to make his court by loading the memory of *Gallus*, and so much prudence as to say nothing in his justification ; which woud inevitably have rouz'd the fury of *Constantius*. At the end of six months, the Empress got the better of the Favourite. She obtain'd an audi-

(q) In culmine tam celso humana. *Ammian.*

* Liban. or. x. 267. Amm. l. xxv. c. 4. Jul. ad Athen.

(r) Linguae fusioris et admodum raro silentis: Id.

audience for *Julian*, and herself exhorted him to make his defence. The Emperor appear'd tolerably satisfied, and promised to hear him once more. But the Eunuch, who fear'd lest *Julian* might hit the taste of his master, and gain his confidence, prevented this second audience. The Prince was therefore obliged to finish his justification by the mediation of his Protectress, who obtained him a permission to return into *Asia*.

* Whilst preparations were making for his voyage, he went to *Como* to pass some time there, either because the Eunuch *Eusebius* procured an order for his leaving *Millan*; or because he himself, in concert with the Empress, had made a resolution of keeping at a distance from Court, that he might not exasperate his enemies by enjoying before their eyes a sort of victory he had just obtained. But in this interval the Emperor chang'd his sentiments, and upon the news of some revolts which had happened in *Illyria* and *Gaul*, he woud no longer permit *Julian* to go into *Asia*. It is not to be conceived how these tumults coud have an influence upon the fate of *Julian*, unless the Emperor was made to apprehend, that

this

* Amm. l. xv. c. 2. Jul. ad Athen. Id. or. iii. Id. ad Themist. Greg. or. xx. p. 326. Id. or. iv.

this Prince, emboldened by those circumstances, might think of forming a party in a country, where he possessed great Dominions, and where he had gain'd himself the general esteem. *Eusebia*, who knew the inclinations of *Julian*, procured for him an order to retire into *Greece*. This voyage had altogether the appearance of a banishment, but it was what he passionately wished for. He flew then to *Athens*, which for so many ages had been the centre of learning, and the rendezvous of the most accomplish'd youths.

* *Julian* found there St. *Basil*, and St. *Gregory Nazianzen*. The latter, who was destined to exhaust all the force of eloquence against the memory of this Apostate Prince, in discourses which may vie with the *Philippics* of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, assures us, that, when he saw him, he perceived the irregularity of his mind, in his countenance and gestures. 'Tis certain, when we impartially compare the different strokes which this Father, other writers, and *Julian* himself have left us of him, his figure and whole appearance must be allowed to have been no less singular than his character. He was of a middling stature; his body well made, active and vigorous; his gaite was unsteady; his shoulders large, which were

continu-

* Greg. or. iv. 122. Amm. l. xxii. c. 14. Id. xxv. c. 4. Jul. Misop.

continually rising and falling ; his neck thick and stooping ; his head always in motion ; his hair had a natural and easy fall ; his eyebrows and eyes were perfectly fine ; he had a look of surprizing vivacity, but at the same time expressive of inquietude and levity ; a strait nose, an under lip standing out ; a satyrical air ; a thick beard, which terminated in a point ; at least he wore it so when he was Emperor. He laugh'd and talk'd to excess. As his tongue, rapid as it was, coud not always keep peace with his thoughts, he sometimes hesitated, and his speech faltered. His vivacity caused him frequently to make questions and answers foreign to the subject, or which wanted propriety.

* Those who had not the same discernment as St. *Gregory*, gave attention only to what they saw or imagined to see worthy of esteem in *Julian*. They admired his penetration, the extent and variety of his learning, the affability of his conversation. They found in him a modest eloquence, which gained upon the person he conversed with by seeming to respect him ; for, if we believe *Libanius*, he coud not speak without blushing. His birth, his youth, the misfortunes of his family, his present circumstances joined to the quality of pre-

* *Liban.* or. x. p. 269. *Greg.* or. iv. 121. *Jul.*
Mif. *Eunap.* vit. *Max.* 74, 75.

sumptive heir of the Empire, gave an advantage to his talents, and set his merit in the strongest lights. The prejudices of Religion heightened him still more in the minds of the Pagans, who knew, or at least guessed at his sentiments. He was incessantly surrounded by a croud of young men and old, Orators and Philosophers, masters and disciples, who mixt without distinction among the multitude of his admirers. But it was not solely to confer with Men of letters, nor to see the antiquities of *Greece*, nor even to converse with the most superstitious Pagans of the whole Empire, that *Julian* had undertaken the voyage to *Athens*. He came thither in quest of the Pontiff of *Eleusinia*, who was supposed to be more profound even than *Maximus* in the science of Theurgy. *Julian* entered into the strictest intimacy with the Pontiff and eagerly imbibed his pretended wisdom. He disclosed himself also to other Pagans whom he judged worthy of his confidence.

* We may easily imagine what charms his residence at *Athens* afforded him. He conceived a love for that City as his real country, and coud have wished to have fixed himself there for ever : But his happiness

* Lib. ibid. & Or. Cons. 23. Jul. ad Athen. Zosim. l. iii, Amm. xv. c. 8. Id. l. xvi. c. 1. Jul. ad Athen.

piness was soon disturbed by an order which recalled him to Court. *Constantius* at length was so just to himself as to own, what he had never done before, that he was no longer capable of governing alone. The Empire was attacked on all sides. *Gaul*, ravaged by the Barbarians, required the presence of a Prince: the Emperor imagined he had good reasons not to quit *Italy* at that juncture. The Empress omitted no opportunity of speaking in favour of *Julian*. *Constantius* had no heir but him, and was not without remorse for the manner in which he had treated the Princes of the Imperial house. Having had no male children he looked upon this misfortune as a just punishment from God. It came then into his thoughts, to raise *Julian* to the dignity of *Cæsar*. If he believed this Prince had no reason to love him, he hoped at least the Purple woud make him forget what was passed. He depended upon the moderation of *Julian*, whose different inclinations from those of his brother made him be compared to *Titus*, as *Gallus* was to *Domitian*. At all events, *Constantius* promised himself to take such measures, and to cause the new *Cæsar* to be so narrowly observed, that he shoud not be able to quit the second rank, and make himself Emperor in opposition to him. *Libanius* pretends

rengs that *Julian*, at the same time he received the order which recalled him to Court, was informed of what they intended for him ; but that he looked upon this order no otherwise than as the sentence of his death. The bleeding image of *Gallus* immediately presented itself to his sight. He lifted up his hands towards the Temple of *Minerva*, on the summit of the Citadel of *Athens*. He went thither himself, and in presence of some Pagans, laying hold of the sacred balustrade, which he watered with his tears, he supplicated the Goddess not to abandon the most faithful of her servants.

* He was no sooner arrived at *Milan*, than the Emperor proposed in Council his design of making him *Cæsar*. The Favourites applied all the resources of flattery to evade this stroke. But *Eusebia* seconded the Emperor's sentiment with so much force and address, that the promotion of *Julian* was determined. He heard this news with excess of sorrow ; and as the Empress had permitted, and even commanded him, to address himself to her with intire confidence, he writ to her to conjure her by all that was dear to her in the world, to obtain leave for him to return into his own Country (s). When he had writ his

letter,

* Amm. l. xv. c. 8. in *Jul. ad Ath. Zof. l. iii.* 101

(s) Julian calls Asia Minor thus, where he had been brought up.

letter, he was under apprehension it might be intercepted, and implored his Gods to make known to him if it was proper to risque it. The Gods, as he assures us, menaced him with death, if he did so, a death the most ignominious. He suppressed it therefore, and the same night entered into these profound reflections. "What are my thoughts, said he ? I endeavour to resist the Gods, and regulate my destiny, more wise than they to whom nothing is unknown ! 'Tis enough for human prudence not to be lost in the small circle of objects that surround it ; which can only perceive what is within its grasp, or at most but an approaching futurity, whose dawn has already made its appearance. The Councils of the Gods comprehend all things. As they are Authors of the most distant futurity, no less than of the present, both are equally known to them. They always advise and act what is most useful for us. Thou woudst be enraged if any thing that belonged to thee, shoud refuse to be subservient to thy commands ; if thy horse, for example, disdained to carry thee. And thou, who pretendest to be a man, (and what a man likewise !) dost thou set thyself free from the Gods ? They have designs for thee : and thou spurrest to submit to them. 'Tis madness :

“ ‘Tis injustice. Behold thou art ready
“ to flatter, and to be guilty of abject
“ meanness to avoid death, when thou
“ oughtest, after the example of *Socrates*,
“ to commit thyself to providence, to do
“ thy part, and leave to it the rest. Thy
“ business is not to usurp the purple, nor
“ to make any steps to obtain it ; but to re-
“ ceive it from the hand of the Gods who
“ present it to thee.” He yielded to these
reflections. He saw the Emperor and Em-
press, who still farther encouraged him.
In expectation of the day appointed for
his proclamation, some Officers of the Pa-
lace assembled round him, shaved him,
snatched off the Philosopher’s mantle, and
dress’d him as a Warrior. This new equi-
page became him extremely ill ; he could
not acquire the air of a Courtier, but walk-
ed with his eyes cast down, as if he had
still been under the tuition of *Mardonius*.
His Metamorphosis was a kind of masque-
rade, which diverted the Court for some
time.

* At length on the sixth of November
355, under the consulate of *Arbetio* and
Lolianus, the Emperor left the Palace to
repair to the place where he had caused the
soldiers to be assembled. There, upon an
elevated Tribunal, surrounded by the Roman

substitutes soldiers standards and ~~and~~ ^{the} eagles,

* Amm. l. xv. c. 8. Soc. l. Aiii. c. 1. Sozam. l.
v. c. 2.

eagles, and holding *Julian* by the hand, who that day entered into his twenty-fourth year, having in few words set forth the necessities of the Empire, and the merit of the young Prince, he declared his resolution of creating him *Cæsar*, if the Army approved of it. Upon which, after he had been interrupted by a murmur of approbation, he invested him with the Purple, and proclaim'd him *Cæsar*. No promotion was ever more universally applauded. Acclamations were made in praise of the Emperor: And the same in praise of *Julian*. But the latter were conducted with so much caution, that they did honour to *Julian*, without disobliging *Constantius*. A joy was diffused through the whole Assembly. *Julian* himself, who had appear'd cast down and confused during the ceremony, coud not but be affected with such sincere demonstrations. His countenance brightened, and his looks were animated; his eyes (¹) betray'd a noble pride intermix'd with sweetnes, the indications of a great and amiable Prince. *Constantius* made him ascend into his chariot, and conducted him to the Palace, where *Julian* coud not, without horror, see himself in the midst of the murderers of all his family. He repeated fre-

D 2

quent-

(2) *Oculos cum venustate terribiles, vultumque excitatio gratum.* Ammian.

quently a verse in *Homer* (u), which he applied to his new dignity, hinting that he regarded the Purple as a destination to death; or rather, as death itself.

* To say the truth, the conduct shewed towards him was not proper to dissipate his fears. Under the pretext of forming his household, he was permitted only to retain four of his ancient Domestics; *Euemerus*, his Library-keeper, and *Oribasius*, of *Pergamus*, his Physician, who were the confidants of his Apostacy, and two others, who were but children. The busines of his Guards was more to observe his steps, than to attend the safety of his person. *Constantius* took the trouble of writing with his own hand, a most minute detail, by which he was to regulate all his actions. He specified in it the number and quality of the dishes to be served up at the table of the *Cæsar*; so that you woud have taken *Julian*, says an original author (x), for a young man, whom his step-father was just sending to school. Thus the Emperor designed him only for a phantome cloath'd in purple, who might apparently head the Armies

(u) Ἐλλαζε πορφύρος θάνατος καὶ μοιρά κραταιή. Il. 1. 84.
By purple death and fate resistless seiz'd.

* *Jul.* ad *Athen.* *Id. or. iv.* *Eunap.* vit. *M. 76.*
Id. vit. Orib. 140. *Amm. l. xxvi. c. 5.* *Id. l. xv. c. 8.*

(x) *Ut privignum ad studia mittens.* *Amm.*

mies, and bear the image of a sovereign from City to City. He was not to act but in subordination to the Officers who commanded in *Gaul*; and they had orders to have as strict an eye upon him, as even upon the enemy. However, *Constantius* determined he shoud marry his sister *Helena*, and design'd him his Colleague in the Consulate for the following year. The Empress on her side gave him a splendid and numerous library of *Greek Authors*. This present hindred him from regretting the want of that which he had left in *Asia*, and made him find *Greece* again in the midst of *Gaul*. So he expresses himself in the elogy of his benefactress; a discourse less study'd perhaps, but certainly more sincere, than his two panegyrics (y) upon *Constantius*.

(y) These two panegyrics contain many facts and excellent principles of government. Julian is supposed not yet to have been Cæsar when he composed the first. He wrote the second in *Gaul*. Some Pagan phrases occur in them; which woud induce us to think, that he retouch'd them after he had declared himself a Pagan.

THE LIFE OF JULIAN

The APOSTATE.

BOOK the Second.

* **J**ULIAN departed from *Milan* the first of *December*, and passed the Alps, accompanied only by three hundred and sixty soldiers. It was customary at the solemn reception of Princes, and other public rejoicings, to hang out in the streets foliage Crowns. In a small Town of *Gaul*, the first that *Julian* arrived at in his rout, one of these Crowns, loosing of itself, dropped upon his head, which seemed a presage of the Victories he was to obtain. 'Tis pretended also, that when he made his

* Amm. xv. c 8: Jul. ad Athen. Lib. Or. x. p. 270, 171. Socr. iii. c 1.

entry at *Vienne*, an old blind woman cry'd out, that he woud re-establish the Temples of the Gods. However, that may be, he arrived in that City before the end of *December*, and was received there with inexpressible joy. All the City ran a considerable way to meet him, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. They imagined they saw in his person a tutelary Genius, whose presence woud put an end to the publick misfortunes.

*I know not upon what foundation they coud build such great hopes. From the time when *Magnentius* had usurp'd the purple in *Gaul*, *Constantius*, by a policy advantageous to the Emperor, but fatal to the Empire, had writ to the + *Germans*, to engage them to make a diversion in his favour. They willingly pass'd the Rhine; but after the death of the Tyrant, they woud not repass it. When *Julian* came into *Gaul*, they had ruined about forty-five Towns, without reckoning the Castles and Villages. They had possessed themselves of a Territory fifteen leagues broad, along the Rhine, from the source of that river to its mouth; and with impunity ravaged the Country thrice as far round. The *Gauls*, who had escaped from death or servitude, underwent in the

D 4

and *Liban.* or. X. p. 269. *Socr.* *ibid.* *Jul.* ad *Athen.*

+ *Alamanni,*

cities all the horrors of captivity: the enemy came and carried off before their eyes, their herds and their harvests, and reduced them to live upon the small quantity of corn that they had sown within the enclosure of their walls. At a greater distance from the Barbarians, fear had rendered several Towns uninhabited. In such circumstances, what could they promise themselves from a young Prince, educated in the obscurity of the Schools, who had never seen a sword drawn, nor known war, but in his books? But reading, as formerly to *Lucullus*, made up to him the want of practice; so that he soon justified the Gauls expectations of him.

* In Gaul the Campaign did not commence before the summer. Julian therefore employ'd the winter and spring in necessary preparations; and without listening to the counsels of the flatterers and Officers of *Constantius*, who strove only to inspire him with a love of pleasure, and with their own cowardice, he departed from *Vienne* to meet the Germans, who had just raised the siege of *Autun*, and had proceeded to over-run the Country. The *Cæsar* arrived in *Autun* the twenty-fourth of June, shewing all the resolution, says *Ammianus*, and all the prudence of an experienced General. Yet there was, perhaps, more intrepidity than prudence, in chusing as he did, of the two ways

* Amm. xvi. 2. xvii. 8.

ways that lead from *Auxerre* to *Auxerre*, that which was the shortest, but the most dangerous. Upon the road from *Auxerre* to *Troyes*, he was several times attack'd by different bodies of Barbarians: but tho' they were superior in number, he killed part of them, made others prisoners, and put the rest to flight. Taking his rout from *Troyes* to *Rheims*, through that country, which we call *Lorraine*, an ambuscade of the enemy, in a forest, had almost, by the favour of a mist, carried off his rear guard. This surprize obliged him to march with more precaution, and taught him, that a prudent suspicion is the most essential qualification of a General.

* Some time after, he reveng'd himself near *Brumat* †: and opening a way by his victory, he penetrated as far as the ruins of *Colen*, which the Barbarians had destroy'd ten months before: for, instead of fortifying the Places which they took, they demolish'd them; determining not to live in Cities, which they called tombs and prisons. Julian having repair'd the walls of *Colen*, and by the terror of his arms constrain'd some Kings of the *Franks* to a truce with the *Romans*, came to *Sens* to pass the remainder of the winter, where he immediately found himself besieged by a multitude of

D 5

Barbarians.

* Amm. xvi. c. 3, 4.

† *Brocomagus*.

Barbarians. He had but few with him, because he depended upon *Marcellus*, the General of the horse, who had his quarters not far from thence. *Marcellus*, who had received orders to be upon his guard against *Julian*, imagined that this command meant more than it seem'd to express, and sent him no assistance. This Prince, enclosed within the City, laboured to repair the walls. Encouraged to see himself abandoned, he was night and day upon the ramparts, ready to repulse the enemy in case of an attack, but too weak to attempt a sally. At length the Barbarians, who had not expected to meet with such a resistance, retired after a month's fruitless siege.

* Such was *Julian's* first campaign, which shoud have been still more glorious to him. But he was under the direction of those who commanded the soldiers. They thought only in what manner they might traverse his intentions ; and by their jealousies and contradictions, gave more exercise to his patience, than they left to his valour. This action of *Marcellus* was so black, that the Emperor durst not wink at it. *Severus* was put in his place ; but in subordination to *Julian*, who at length, by the favour of the Empress, obtain'd the chief command of the Army. *Severus* was

* Libanius or. Conf. Ammian. xvi. 7. 12. Zosim. 1. iii.

an Officer of honour, and disinterested. His long services had neither elated him with pride, nor made him opinionated of his judgment. He was capable of putting in execution the designs of Julian with the experience of an Officer, and the obedience of a Soldier, and with the same earnestness as if he had been the Author of them. Julian then thought only how he might second the efforts, which *Constantius* was now resolved to make against the Barbarians. The Emperor's plan was good. The *Cæsar* was to march towards the Upper Rhine, and *Barbatio*, departing from *Italy* at the head of five and twenty thousand men, was to advance to meet him. The Enemy enclosed thus, and shut up, must necessarily perish, or retreat into *Germany*.

* The two *Roman* armies were already near each other, when the *Leti* (2), having convey'd themselves between the two camps, penetrated as far as *Lions*, which they had very near surprized. The City defended itself; but they pillaged and burnt the adjacent country. At the first news of this Julian sent three detachments of horse, to possess themselves

* Ammian.

(2) If, as is supposed by an able Critic, they called by the name of *Leti*, not a particular people, but those Barbarians to whom the *Romans* had assign'd lands, this body of *Leti*, whom Ammianus calls *Germani*, had join'd themselves to the *Germans* against the *Romans*.

themselves of the roads through which these adventurers were to pass, who killed all who presented themselves on that side. The others got off with impunity in sight of *Barbatio*, who seemed to have come into *Gaul*, only to render the enterprises of *Julian* abortive. Part of the *Germans* kept themselves entrench'd in the country which they possess'd on this side the Rhine. They had cut down the trees across all the roads to render them impassable. The others, canton'd in those islands which the river forms about *Basil*, made the shore resound with howlings and imprecations against the *Cæsar* and the *Romans*. *Julian* woud have attack'd these. But *Barbatio* chose rather to burn all the boats he had, than to lend seven, which were demanded of him for this expedition. The *Cæsar* therefore threw some of his troops, partly by swimming, and partly by wading, into the nearest island. The *Romans* massacred all that they found there, without sparing even women or children. The Barbarians perceiving that nothing was inaccessible to *Julian*'s soldiers, abandoned the other islands, and transported their effects beyond the Rhine. His next resolution was to rebuild the fort of *Zabern*, an important Place, capable of preventing the Enemy from penetrating into *Gaul*. The work advanced faster than he could

coud have hop'd. He placed a Garrison in it with corn for one year, which the soldiers had reap'd from the lands sown by the *Germans*. These harvests were the only resources of *Julian*. For of the convoys lately arriv'd for the subsistence of both Armies, *Barbatio* had taken what was proper for himself, and burnt the rest ; either out of extravagancy, or jealousy ; or that he was persuaded he shoud make his court to the Emperor, by suffering the *Cæsar* to perish. 'Tis certain the people continually persisted in saying, that the Emperor had only sent him into *Gaul* to meet his death ; the punishment of *Marcellus* (which was too light, and had been deserv'd on other accounts) not being able to silence reports which might have been attended with so much danger to *Julian*.

* Whilst the Prince fortified *Zabern* (a), *Barbatio*, fearing he might share with him in the honour of defeating the *Germans*, which the union of the two Chiefs woud have render'd inevitable, undertook to lay a bridge over the *Rhine*, and to carry on the war in *Germany* alone. But the Enemy attack'd him, broke the bridge, put him to flight, carry'd off his baggage, and reduced him to return to the Emperor to make war against *Julian* by his calumnies. The

Germans

* Amm. ibid. Lib. or. x. 273, 274. & seq.

(a) *Tres-Tabernæ*.

Germans elated with this victory, reunited all their forces to subdue the *Cesar*. Seven of their kings appear'd at once at the head of thirty-five thousand men. Amongst these kings of the Barbarians, *Chnodomarius* had the principal authority ; *Chnodomarius*, accustomed to vanquish the *Romans*, and to depopulate their Provinces, equally bold in his counsels, and happy in the execution of them. His air and his stature were answerable to his valour. The confidence he had acquired by a long train of exploits, had not abated his natural activity, which, multiplied him, as it were, and render'd him present at once in every part of that vast body, of which he was the soul, to actuate it with his courage and hatred against the *Romans*. He had formerly defeated in a pitched battle the *Cesar Decentius*, brother to *Magnentius* ; and was impatient to acquire a like victory over *Julian*. He sent a summons to that Prince, ordering him to depart out of a Country, which, he said, belong'd to the *Germans* by a double title ; by the right of the sword, and by the cession made to them of it by *Constantius*. The Herald who pronounced this, produced the letters which that Emperor had written to the Barbarians in the time of *Magnentius*. *Julian*, without betraying any emotion either of fear or anger, reply'd with a disdainful smile, That the Envoys cou'd be only

ly Spies, Agents without a commission, since there was no Prince in the world who durst send him such a summons. Under this pretext, but in reality lest they shoud carry back an account of the state of his Army, which consisted only of thirteen thousand men, he detain'd them till after the battle, and march'd at the rising of the sun towards the Enemy, whose camp was but eight leagues distant.

* Julian was advanced part of the way; and as the heats were then very great, he was apprehensive that his Troops, fatigued with a long and painful march, woud attack with great disadvantage an Army three times more numerous than themselves. He woud have made them encamp, and have laid before them the motives which obliged him to defer the battle till the next day. But he was interrupted by the shouts of the soldiers, who striking their pikes against their shields, gnashing their teeth, and foaming with rage, demanded to be lead on directly to the Enemy. Amongst the rest a standard bearer cry'd out: " March, " *Cesar*, where victory calls you. We are " conscious that you have prudence and " valour for your guides. You shall see " what can be done by brave soldiers, un- " der the eye of a General, who is the " witness and the companion of their " labours." There was reason to fear that

that this might come to a Sedition, if, (which was not without example) the Enemy at the approach of the *Roman* Army shoud disperse themselves in the night. These circumstances, and the advice of the principal Officers, determin'd *Julian* to hasten his march against the *Germans*, who, far from thinking of flight, were prepar'd to receive him, reckoning themselves secure of the Victory. I will not give a detail of the action of the day, which may be seen at length in *Ammianus*, and which is more properly matter for History than a Life. I shall only say, that *Julian* found in *Chnodomarius* and in the Kings his Allies, enemies who answered their reputation; and that this young Warrior on his side testified a valour and conduct comparable to that of the Heroes of antient *Rome*. The fight was obstinate, and the Victory long in suspense. The *Roman* Cavalry gave way. They had already turn'd their backs, when the *Cæsar*, to stop their flight, presented himself in their passage, as a barrier which they durst not pass. By his words, and by his example he brought them back to the assistance of the Infantry, who finding themselves supported, redoubled their efforts, broke through the *German* battalions, and put them to flight. Six thousand were left upon the spot. The others were pursued even to the *Rhine*, wherein innumerable mul-

multitudes of them perished. The *Romans* were so eager in the pursuit, that they threw themselves into the river promiscuously with those that fled. *Julian* who had run to the banks, needed all his authority to stop those whose ardour pushed them on to inevitable destruction.

* This battle which was fought some leagues from [†] *Strasburgh*, drove the *Germans* out of the *Gauls*, and re-established the reputation of the *Roman* arms; yet it cost *Julian* only the loss of two hundred and forty-three Soldiers, and four Officers. The Army proclaim'd him *Augustus*: but he protested with an oath, that he woud never deviate in the least from the obedience he owed the Emperor. At the same time, to compleat the joy of that victorious day, he ordered *Chnodomarius* to be brought before him. This King had been taken in his flight, and discovered by the marks of his dignity. Whilst he express'd a noble pride, and paid to the *Cæsar* that respect only which is due to the Conqueror, and is no dishonour to the Conquer'd, *Julian* felt for him all those sentiments that admiration and pity could inspire for distressed virtue. But when he saw him prostrate himself at his feet, and pour forth the most abject supplications, he inwardly contemn'd him. However, reflec-

* Amm. ib. Lib. or. x. 276. Jul. ad Athen.

† *Argentoratum*.

ting upon the vanity of human greatness, and upon the quality in which *Cnodomarus* appeared some hours before, he did not insult his misfortunes. He treated him with kindness, and sent him to *Constantius*, who caused him to be convey'd to *Rome*, where this King soon after dy'd.

* So many proofs of courage, moderation and fidelity, which were thus given by *Julian*, procured him no consideration at Court. The flatterers treated the battle of *Strasbourg* as a trifle and a childish exploit. They surnamed him in derision *Victorinus*: a low piece of raillery, which covered great malignity, because it recalled the remembrance of a General of that name, celebrated for his victories over the *Germans* and the *Franks*; but who had usurped the Empire in *Gaul* in the time of *Gallienus*. As the Emperor was pleased with these wretched buffoons, *Julian* was the continual object of their raillery, neither the prudence of his measures, nor the fortune of his arms being able to secure him from it. If he wrote to Court to give an account of any success, " 'Tis not to be born," (b) cry'd the courtiers. Are we always to be stunned with the eclat of

* Amm. l. xvi. c. 12. xvii. c. 11.

(b) In odium venit cum victoriis suis capella, non homo; ut hirsutum, Julianum carpentes, appellantesque loquacem talpam, et purpuratam simiam, litterionem Græcum, &c.

“ his pretended victories? One who has
“ not the figure of a man? ’Tis a goat,
“ an ape robed in purple, a Pedant wrap-
“ ped up in *Greek*, who has not studied the-
“ toric for nothing, and makes use of it
“ to impose on our belief at pleasure?”
But these very exploits, so much despised
in order to cry down Julian, Constantius
with a ridiculous vanity appropriated them
to himself in the face of the whole Empire.
He was forty days distant from Strasbourg
at the time of the battle: and yet in an
Edict in which he gives advice of the Victory,
he speaks as if he had been present in
the action. “ We ranged, says he, our
“ Troops in such a manner . . . We fought
“ in the first ranks . . . *Cbnodomarius* was
“ presented to us.” Throughout, the name
of Julian was not so much as mention’d:
but the Emperor’s silence served only to
make the *Cesar* talked of.

* Julian, from a principle of humanity,
having caused the dead to be interred, with-
out distinction of friends or enemies, pass’d
the *Rbine* at *Mentz*. His Troops woud
have been glad to have enjoyed their Victo-
ry; but captivated by his eloquence and
behaviour, they joyfully follow’d a Chief,
who in every thing was their example, and
did more himself than he exacted from the
meanest soldier. The *Romans* burnt and

sack’d

* Amm. l. xxvii. c. 1, 2. Liban. or. x. 378.

sack'd the Country, and constrain'd the Barbarians to escape beyond the *Main*. *Julian*, that he might take advantage of their fear, notwithstanding the inconveniences of the season (for it was now past the equinox, and the earth was cover'd with snow) rebuilt in haste, a Fort formerly erected by *Trajan*. At the sight of this Fortress, which was to be a curb upon the Barbarians, they humbly sued for peace; but were obliged to be content with a truce of ten months. To crown so glorious a Campaign, *Julian* returning to his winter quarters, met with a Party of the *Franks*, a Nation, says *Libanius*, whose sport it is to brave the snow and the ice. This Party, imagining the *Romans* to be in the extremity of *Germany*, had scoured the banks of the *Maeze*. At their arrival they fortified themselves in the best manner they coud, in two Castles situated upon that river, and defended themselves valiantly there near two months. The *Cæsar* set a just value upon the resistance of these brave men, admitted them to a capitulation, and judged them worthy to be incorporated into the *Roman* Troops; but to place them at a distance from their country, he sent them to the Emperor, and came to *Paris* to finish the winter there.

* This Metropolis, which did not then extend

* Vide Had. Vales. notas in Amm. edit, Par. an. 1681. p. 240. Jul. Misopog.

extend beyond what is now called the City, had nevertheless, near it, or within its bounds, all the conveniences necessary to receive an Emperor with his retinue. It had a Palace, public Baths, an Amphitheatre, a Campus Martius, and a considerable Suburb on the south. 'Tis generally believed, that Julian built the Palace of the *Thermae*, the remains of which are still shewn, under the name of *Julian's Baths*. It was natural for this Prince to leave some monument of his magnificence, and of his residence, in a City which he loved, and where he passed at least two winters. In the *Misopogon* he stiles it his dear *Lutetia*, and speaks of it with that exuberance of heart, which makes us sensible he was delighted with it, and that the remembrance of it was dear to him. In general he was passionately fond of the *Gauls*, and they were not less so of him. The simplicity, the frankness, and the austere manners of those people, sympathised extremely with his affable, popular humour, and aversion to pomps and pleasures.

* By changing his habit he had not changed his character. After the example of *Marcus Aurelius*, he lived like a Philosopher in the midst of his Court, and at the head of his Armies. As he held for a maxim that sentence of the elder *Cato*, that *a mind intent*

* Amm. 1. xvi. 5, 7. Id. xxv. c. 4. Liban. or. Conf. 249. Zonar. 1. xiii. Eutrop. 1. x.

intent upon the pleasures of taste, pays little regard to its duties, he went even beyond the lessons of frugality, which the Emperor had set him, and absolutely banish'd from his table pheasants, and all other delicate and studied meats. He contented himself with the sustenance of a common soldier. Sometimes he took it standing, and even in so small a quantity, that it was said, he lived like the chameleon upon air. He was ashamed of the necessities inseparable from humanity, so far as to say, that a Philosopher ought not to breathe. He slept little, and wak'd at whatever hour he pleased. His bed was a carpet, and his covering only a skin. He rose always at midnight, and after having made his prayer in secret to *Mercury*, he entered upon business, and went to visit the Centinels. When his rounds were finished, if his affairs permitted, he studied till day-light. He applied himself with indefatigable ardour to Philosophy, the study of which he made principally to regard the duties of his station. 'Tis not to be doubted, but he made himself a great proficient in this science, and that it had an influence upon his morals. But it coud never cure him of a fund of levity and vanity, acknowledged even by the Pagans themselves, which always sullied his brightest actions. For true Virtues are the product only of true Religion; not to be looked

looked for in those who are ignorant of it, much less in those who have abandon'd it.

* Philosophy did not so totally engross his application, but that he found leisure for the other sciences, especially for History, which he look'd upon as a concise method of acquiring that experience, of which age only gives a fuller detail, at our own expence, and sometimes when it is too late to make use of it. In all his expeditions, he always carried with him, as a provision necessary for a General, some select Historians. We perceive from his Works, that he understood the *Roman History*, and that of other Nations. We shoud add him to the number of the celebrated Historians, if his memoirs of the wars with the *Gauls* had remained to our times. But let us return to his manner of living.

† Though *Gaul* is a cold Region in comparison of *Asia Minor* and *Greece*, where he had always lived, he persisted in struggling against the severity of our winters. This is what he tells us himself in the *Misopogon*.

“ I kept, says he, my winter quarters in
“ my dear *Lutetia* : so they stile in *Gaul* the
“ little capital of the *Parisians*. It is a small
“ island surrounded with walls, whose foun-
“ dation is washed by the river. You enter
“ it on two sides by wooden bridges. It is

* Amm. l. xvi. c. 6. Jul. or. iv. Libanius Paneg. 148.

† Jul. Misopog. Amm. ib. c. 4.

“ seldom that the river is much affected by
“ by the rains of winter, or the droughts
“ of summer. Its clear waters are agreeable
“ to the sight, and excellent to the taste.
“ The inhabitants woud hardly be able to
“ procure any other, being situated in an
“ island. The winters are tolerably mild
“ We find there good vines, and
“ even fig-trees, since they have taken
“ care to cover them with straw, and with
“ every thing that may preserve the trees
“ from the injuries of the air. During the
“ stay I made there, an extraordinary frost
“ cover'd the river with ice I woud
“ not suffer them to heat the Chamber
“ where I lay, though in that country, by
“ the help of stoves, they warm most of
“ their apartments, and every thing was
“ disposed in mine to procure me that
“ convenience The cold aug-
“ mented every day Yet those
“ who attended me, coud not prevail
“ upon me I ordered them to
“ bring only some lighted charcoal in-
“ to my Chamber. This fire, as trifling
“ as it was, made a vapour exhale from
“ the walls, which seized my head, and
“ threw me into a sleep. I was very near
“ being suffocated. They carried me out;
“ and the Physicians having discharge dmy
“ stomach of what I had eat in the even-
“ ing, I felt myself relieved. I had an
“ easy

"easy night, and the next day was capable of business". Thus his severity to himself had almost cost him his Life.

When Julian was not in the Field, he employed the day in administering justice, and in exercising himself with his Soldiers; though he had little inclination for this last employ, and appear'd in it only with a borrow'd Air. He was then frequently heard to regret the want of his Closet, and his Books. One day as they were teaching him to dance the Pyrrhic to the sound of fifes, a part of the military exercise amongst the Greeks and Romans. *Ab i Plato, Plato, cry'd he, (c) what an employment for a Philosopher!*

Upon his Tribunal he found himself less out of his proper situation, where he decided with much Justice, with some preponderancy, however to the side of clemency. Before he took the Field, he referred the Parties to the Governors of the Provinces, to be judged there according to the rigour of the laws. But these Officers had orders to defer, till his return, the execution of their Sentences, which he reformed according to the principles of Equity. The Parents of a maid, that had been forced,

Easimis sum inclup brought

(c) *Vetus illud proverbium, clitella bovi impositae sunt; plane nostrum non est onus, Platonem crebro nominans, exclamabat.* I have thought proper to give only the sense of the Proverb.

* Amm.

brought the Ravisher to a trial for his Life. Julian, having doubtless observed some particular circumstances, which diminished the enormity of the crime, contented himself with banishing the Criminal. The Relations exclaim'd, that it was a shame, and that the *Cæsar* was too indulgent. Yes, I am so, reply'd Julian, if we consider only the disposition of the Laws. (d) But a Prince is a living Law, who is to temperate by his clemency whatever in the dead Laws is too rigorous.

* From such Maxims, he was far from condemning those who were not convicted by lawful proof. Numerius, who not long before had governed the Narbonnese Gaul, was accused of having pillaged it. As Numerius was steady in denying it, and disconcerted his Accusers; Delphidius of Bordeaux, a celebrated Advocate and full of fire, imagined he cou'd supply the want of proofs by vehement exclamation. *Cæsar*, cry'd he, (e) who can be guilty, if to deny a Crime is sufficient to clear one? And, reply'd Julian, who can be innocent, if to be accused is sufficient to condemn one? He yield-

(d) Incusent jura clementiam: sed Imperatorem mitissimi animi legibus præstare cæteris decet.

* Amm. l. xvi. c. 1. Liban. or. x. 281.

(e) Ecquis, florentissime *Cæsar*, nocens esse poterit usquam, si negare sufficerit? . . . Ecquis innocens esse poterit, si accusasse sufficiet?

ed nothing to favour or interest. A Province, pillaged by the Governor of it, had carried their complaints to *Florentius*, the Praetorian Prefect, which threw *Florentius* himself into a strange embarrass, who being conscious that he had been an accomplice in the crimes of the Governor, and shared in the profits, hesitated some time without daring to condemn or acquit him. At length gratitude, and perhaps fear lest the Criminal shoud charge him, overcame all other considerations in the mind of the Prefect. He declared him Innocent: and as the injustice of the Sentence was murmur'd at, he determined to referr him to *Julian*. The *Cæsar* was much interested to keep well with the Prefect, whose post placed him at the head of Justice and of the Finances, and who, in this double administration scarce depended upon any but the Emperor. For which reason *Florentius* flatter'd himself that *Julian* woud enter into his views. He was deceived. The young Prince after having in vain refused to be concerned in so delicate an Affair, being forced at last to take Cognizance of it, declared the Governor guilty of Peculation.

* This was not the only instance in which he had firmness enough to take the part of

E 2 justice

* Amm. l. xviii. 1. Mamertin. Paneg.

justice even against those, who, being appointed the Administrators of it, had violated all its laws, and made no other use of their power, but to force from the People all that the Barbarians had left them. As soon as he began to suppress these robbers, they broke out into complaints, and invented the blackest calumnies against him. Those whose malice was more refined and deeper laid, gave him the highest elogies, in order to excite the jealousy of *Constantius*. *Julian* was not ignorant of the dangers that surrounded him. But he was attentive only to his duty, without any regard to the consequences of it.

* The first winter quarter that *Julian* pass'd in *Paris*, though that quarter was very short, and the Prince was loadled with business, yet he examined the state of the expences and the receipts of the public Treasure, with a view of easing the landed men. The *Prætorian Prefect*, having, as he said, exactly computed the whole Income, pretended that an extraordinary aid was wanting to make good the deficiencies of the *Capitatio* (f). *Julian* who considered new Taxes

* Amm. 1. xvii. 3.

(f) The Tribute properly called so, which was payed in the *Roman Provinces*. consisted in a real Tax of so much an acre, and a personal Tax of so much for each head of a family. The first was called *Jugatio*, and the second *Capitatio*. See this matter thoroughly treated

of

as the ruin of the Provinces, and who besides reproached himself for having so long wink'd at the oppressions of *Florentius*, withstood him to his face, protesting that he woud rather lose his life, than suffer such an impost to be laid. Upon this the Prefect exclaim'd, that it was amazing his fidelity shoud be suspected, and that these suspicions reflected upon the Emperor, who had placed him in that station. The *Cæsar*, without any farther discussion of the matter, upon the spot made a clear and exact calculation, by which he demonstrated, that the sole produce of the Capitation was sufficient, and even more than sufficient for all the expences of the war.

* His vigour put a stop to the Prefect for the present, who nevertheless returned to the charge sometime after, and sent him an order ready drawn up, to levy a contribution. *Julian*, far from signing it, woud not so much as hear it read, and threw it upon the ground, saying aloud before those whom he knew woud repeat it to *Florentius*, Undoubtedly he will alter what he has done : It is too crying an imposition. But *Florentius*, instead of profiting by his advice, pushed on, as *Julian* himself tells us,

E 3 to

of in that excellent book, intituled, *Histoire critique de l'établissement de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Gaules*, par M. l'Abbé du Bos. Tom. i. l. 1.

* Jul. ep. xvii.

to excesses which coud not have been expected even from a Tyrant who had the least remains of modesty ; and that almoſt in the very face of *Julian*. “ Yet what had I done, continues this Prince, but what in such a case a disciple of *Plato* and *Aristotle* ought to have done ? Ought I to have left the miserable People to the mercy of those Robbers, who by their base stratagems had reduced them to the last extremities ? We punish a Tribune with death : we even refuse him interment, for abandoning a post which he coud not keep without the loss of his life : and shall we be so base as to quit ours, by ceasing to defend those whom others never cease to oppress ? We are placed here by God, and he combats with us himself. If our firmness draws upon us any disgrace, we have a strong resource in the testimony of a good conscience. I pray the Gods to grant me a man of probity, such as *Salust*. If I am recalled, and a Successor be appointed, I shall not, perhaps, be displeased with it. 'Tis better to do well for a short time, than to do evil long”.

* *Salust*, of whom *Julian* speaks, was an Officer of great merit, by Nation a *Gaul*. 'Tis not positively known what employ-
ment

* *Jul.* or. *Confolat.* ad *Salust.* *Liban.* or. *x.* 212.
Amm. *xxi.* 8.

ment *Constantius* had given him in *Gaul* : but it is certain he possessed one that was considerable. He was a Pagan, a man of learning, extremely versed in affairs, and of tried probity. These were abundant reasons to entitle him to *Julian's* friendship. *Salust*, had that rare talent of giving advice without either moroseness or that air of confidence, and self-sufficiency, which but too frequently disgusts us against the truth, and always against those who speak it. The freedom with which he reprehended the Prince was softened by respect, by cordiality, and tenderness. *Julian* rever'd him as a father, and all the good that *Julian* did, was a tributed to *Salust*, without *Julian's* being jealous of it. The intrigues of *Florensius* and of the other Officers engaged the Emperor to recall *Salust* under a pretext which was honourable to him ; but in reality to mortify *Julian*, who was left at the discretion of men unworthy of their posts, and his avowed enemies. Nothing can be more glorious for him, than to have performed with such wretched ministers, such great actions both Civil and Military. What woud he not have done, if he had been better served ? But either *Constantius* was deceived in his choice, or by a low policy, he fear'd lest the *Cæsar* shoud execute all the good he was capable of. *Julian* was extremely affected at the loss of *Salust*. To

relieve his sorrow, he address'd a discourse to him, in which he takes his leave of him in a moving manner with the most sincere testimonies of esteem and friendship. Afterwards, when he was Emperor, he made him Prefect of Gaul.

* In the mean time *Florentius* had writ to Court upon the subject of what had passed between the *Cæsar* and him. *Constantius* sent word to *Julian*, to behave with more complacency to the Prefect, and to shew less distrust of him. *Julian* reply'd, That they ought to be satisfied, if the *Gauls*, ruined as they were by the Barbarians and the Collectors of public money, pay'd the antient Tributes; and that to exact any thing more, was to demand an impossibility. The Emperor desisted, and *Florentius*'s project dropped. In process of time, *Julian* even diminished the antient Imposts; so that in stead of twenty-five pieces of gold which were paid *per head* (g) at his arrival in *Gaul*,

so did the *Emperors* before him, when they

* Amm. xvii. 3. xvi. 5.

(g) The *Aureus* at the time of *Julian* was worth about 15 livres, or 12 s. 6 d. of Eng. money. So that the Capitation, even upon the foot of *Julian*'s reduction, appears at first view exorbitant. But it must be consider'd, that it was only the head of each family who paid it. On supposition that *Gaul*, according to its antient extent, was peopled in proportion as *France* is now, it shoud contain seventeen millions of souls. If out of these seventeen millions we deduct the slaves, children, and femme coverts, half

they paid no more than seven, when he left them. If he was an enemy to new taxes, he was not less so to forgiving part of what was due, because he knew that upon the first call they immediately forced the poor to pay, and that therefore those only who were easy in their circumstances, and consequently wanted no relief, as they were not pressed in the same manner, received the advantage of such an indulgence. The second *Belgium*, (b) which was in a condition still more lamentable than the other Provin-

E 5 ces,

half of the widows (for two widows, according to the laws, made but one head) in a word, all those who by their dignity, their profession, &c. were exempt, there woud not be in *Gaul*, perhaps, five hundred thousand Citizens who were to pay it. Now a-days when the Society consists of free men, it is impossible but that many heads of families must be indigent. But in those times there was no Citizen who coud not subsist conveniently by his own industry, and the labour of his slaves, and pay at least the Capitation as it was moderated by *Julian*. If ill conduct or the misfortune of the times reduced a Citizen to poverty, he soon ceased to be one. The laws ordered in many cases, that the insolvent Debtor shoud become the slave of his creditors. I have only given an abridgment here of what M. l' *Abbé du Bos* has expressed better and fuller, in the book before cited, to which I refer the reader, as one of the most curious and best reasoned books that has appear'd for many years.

(b) The second *Belgium* had *Rheims* for its capital. It comprehended almost what now composes the Ecclesiastical Provinces of *Rheims* and *Cambray*, and part of that of *Malines*.

ces, first raised his compassion. He took upon himself the charge of levying the Imposts there, and made the Prefect give him his promise, that he woud not send any Officer to constrain them. The people acquitted themselves before the time appointed and their readiness demonstrated that the manner in which Tributes are levied is frequently more odious and more burdensome than the Tributes themselves.

* *Julian* was much prejudiced against a kind of Officers spread through all the Empire, who were called, the Agents of the Emperor or the Inquisitors. They were, properly speaking, informers, established by authority, and charged with observing whatever was done or said against the interest of the Prince. All the world groan'd under their tyranny. These men, who pretended to be, and in effect were, the eyes of the Emperor, made him see treason where-ever they thought proper. By raising acusations against men of worth, which they cou'd not deliver themselves from, but by dint of money ; and by selling to villains an impunity for their crimes, they amass'd in a small time prodigious fortunes. Upon a day of Ceremony on which the Emperor, or he who supplied his place, was to give them a certain sum, they presented themselves before *Julian*. It was customary to receive

* Liban. or. x. 294, 295. Amm. l. xvi. 5.

receive this money in the lap of their garment. One amongst them, instead of holding up his gown, held out his hands. (i) *I see, said Julian, the Agents of the Emperor know how to grasp, but not to receive.* He made it one of his first concerns, when he was possessed of the Empire, to suppress so dangerous a post.

* Having provided for the relief of the Provinces, his next care was for their safety. He departed before the time appointed for the opening of the Campaign: and as the convoys which were to come from *Aquitaine* were not yet arrived, he made each Soldier take his provision of biscuit for thirty days. The Soldiers bore this load with pleasure, reckoning that they marched to certain victory. That he might lose no time while the truce with the *Germans* was expiring, he turned his arms against the *Salians*, a Nation of the *Franks*, driven from their native country by the *Saxons*. The *Salians* had passed the *Rhine*, and pretended to hold independently of the *Romans* *Toxandria* (k) and the Country of the *Batavians* (l).

Their

(i) *Rapere, non accipere* sciunt Agentes-in-rebus.

* Amm. l. xviii. 8. Zosim. l. iii. Jul. ad. Athen.

(k) *Toxandria* or *Toxandria* is now almost what is called *Brabant*. 'Tis pretended that the name is still preserved in a village in the territory of *Liege*, called *Tessender-loo*.

(l) The isle of the *Batavians* comprehended all that

Their Deputies who were going to meet Julian at *Paris*, were astonished to find him at *Tongres*. He treated them with affability: but sent them back without returning a positive answer, and rushing with the rapidity of lightning upon the whole Nation, who had not so much as time to recollect themselves, he obliged them to submit to the *Romans*. The *Cæsar* attack'd with the same celerity the *Chamaves* another *French* Nation, who had also seized upon some countries of the *Gauls* near the mouth of the *Rhine*. He defeated part of them, took others prisoners, and forced the remainder to throw themselves at his feet and sue for peace.

* Julian in return demanding Hostages of them, they offered him the prisoners he had taken. Upon which the Prince replying that they offer'd him nothing but what was his own already by right of Conquest, the Barbarians humbly implored him to name whom he desired. *I demand the King's son*, (m) reply'd he. At these words that is inclosed between the antient channel of the *Rhine* and the *Kabal*, from fort *Schenk* to the sea. The Province of *Holland* therefore does not exactly answer to *Batavia*, the name of which *Batav* still preserves.

* Excerpta ex Eunap. ad calcem. VV. Soph. p. 161. & tom. 1. Hist. Byzant.

(m) This King was named *Nebigafius*, or *Nebigafus*.

the King and all his retinue, prostrate upon the earth, burst into tears and the most dreadful lamentations, crying out, Impossibilities were required of them, that it was not in their power to raise the dead. From the excess of their grief a profound silence succeeded their exclamations: and the King raising his voice which was interrupted with sighs, " Woud to heaven, *Cæsar*, said he, " that I had still my son, to make him " your slave ! Such a servitude woud be " preferable to my crown. But alas ! he " exposed himself to all the dangers of war ; " and for want of being known, he has " fallen, no doubt, by your victorious " arms. That young Prince, whom you " are pleased to esteem as the price of a " peace, is no more : and it is that esteem " of yours which now completes my affliction, by making me feel the utmost extent of my loss. I lose my son, and the " hopes of peace. If any faith may be given to my words, it woud be a consolation to me to owe to my misfortunes the quiet of my subjects. But since you refuse to believe me, a deplorable Monarch, " a deplorable Father, I shall be deprived " of that consolation I have a just title to. " My domestic misfortunes will draw on the ruin of my Nation, and all that I " have gained by being a King, will be the " privilege of not being wretched alone."

* Julian

* Julian melted at this discourse, and coud not restrain his tears. Then, as in dramatic pieces, when the plot is worked up to the height, a person unforeseen intervenes, who unravels all, and clears up the confusion, he produced in the height of the consternation and despair of the *Chamavi*, the son of their King, whom he had treated suitably to his dignity. He ordered him to speak to his father, being attentive himself not to lose any part of so affecting a scene. The Barbarians o'erwhelmed with grief and amazement, and firmly persuaded of the death of the young Prince, imagined they saw a phantom, and coud not believe their eyes. Julian seeing them dumb and immoveable, said to them gravely,

“ Lay aside your doubts : this is the very
“ person you lamented. You lost him by
“ your own fault : God and the *Romans*
“ have retrieved him to you again. Though
“ he is my prisoner, I receive him as an
“ hostage, and propose to make him happy.
“ As to you, if you fail in your engagements to me, you may expect the greatest
“ of miseries. I shall not punish him for
“ your infidelity. It is the part of wild
“ beasts alone, when they are pursued, to
“ fly upon the first they meet, tho’ he has
“ done them no injury. But remember,
“ that destruction sooner or later waits the
“ unjust

"unjust Aggressor; and that you will have
"for your enemies the *Romans* and me,
"who have conquered you, and who now
"out of compassion grant you peace."

* Thus Julian gave them with dignity, and under the title of a favour, a peace which was necessary to him, and which *Florentius* woud have bought. In truth, *Gaul*, uncultivated as it was, and ravag'd, not producing a sufficient quantity of corn, and the *Chamavi* hindering its coming from *Great Britain* by the *Rbine* (n), the Prefect, to the shame of the *Roman* name, entered into terms with them for the liberty of transportation, and offered them two thousand pound weight of silver. The Emperor had writ to Julian to ratify this agreement, provided it was not too scandalous. But how coud the *Cæsar* look without horror upon a treaty, which even *Constantius*, accustomed as he was to pay pensions to the Barbarians, felt a repugnance at? He resolved to owe to his sword alone the free navigation of the *Rbine*.

* After

* Jul. ad Athen. Zosim. l. iii.

(n) The mouth of the *Rbine* is not now to be found. In the year 860, according to the common opinion, the sea swelling to a great height, stopped up the *Rbine*, and forced part of its waters to leave their antient channel. At this day the river after dividing itself at Fort *Schenk*, continues to run in different branches, which never re-unite, and take distinct names.

* After he had reduced the *Chamavi*, he caused four hundred barks which he had built, to sail for *Great Britain*, and repair'd three Forts upon the *Maeze*. But on a sudden his provisions failed, by reason, that the harvests of the *Chamavi*, upon which he had depended, had not ripened so soon as he expected. This want excited a violent sedition in the Camp : and as hunger is deaf to the voice of reason, it resounded in every part with injuries and menaces against that very Chief, who some days before was the object of the love and admiration of his Soldiers. He was now only an *Asiatic*, (o) a *Greek*, a deceiver, and a man whose head was disordered by the study of philosophy. *Heaven is our witness*, said they, *that we are far from being seditious*: *we demand only bread*. *As to silver and gold*, 'tis long since we have seen either. *That is what we are not so much as to hope for*. *We are treated as Enemies of the Republic*, whilst in the extremities of frost and snow, *we lavish our lives in her service*. *But at least let us not be forced to perish with hunger*.

Their names. That which is always called the *Rhine*. loses itself in the sands at *Catwic* below *Leyden*. This is the place where was antiently the principal outlet.

• Zosim. ib. Jul. ibid. Amm. l. xvii. c. 9.

(o) *Asianum, Græculum fallacem, et specie sapientiae solidum.*

Their complaints were not without foundation; for, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, since the *Cæsar's* arrival in *Gaul*, they had received neither bounties extraordinary, nor even their usual pay. ^{and} The *Cæsar* was not in a condition to make it up to them; and if he had been possessed of riches sufficient, nothing was more expressly forbidden him; so far, that having once given a trifle to a Soldier, one of the Emperor's spies took occasion from thence to calumniate him at Court.

* *Julian* having no power to recompense, had scarce any right to punish; and his severity would have only served to exasperate a multitude, famished and little susceptible of fear. He made use therefore of blandishments to appease the *Mutineers*, and succeeded at length tho' with much difficulty. Then without losing time, he passed the *Rhine*; and soon beheld at his feet two *German* Kings, named, *Hortarius* and *Suomarius*. He forgave them what was past, on condition that they shoud deliver up all the prisoners they had taken in *Gaul*. But *Hortarius* failed in his promise, and returned but a small number of his. *Julian* had taken proper measures not to be imposed upon. He had sought out people from every ruin'd Town or Village, and received from them a list of all their acquaintance,

* Am. ib. Zos. ibid. Jul. ibid.

tance, who had been carry'd into slavery. When the *Germans* therefore brought back these Captives, seated upon his Tribunal, he ordered their names to be read over to him. His Secretaries concealed behind the Tribunal, naming to him in a low whisper all who were still wanting, *Julian* declared with a menacing voice, that they must deliver to him particular persons of such a Town, and such a Village, or else they must expect the last extremities of war.^{no} This stratagem was a mystery to the Barbarians, who believing *Julian* to be inspired, and proof against all deceit, frankly delivered up all who were still alive. At length, at the expiration of six months, he returned, accompanied with an incredible multitude of all ages and sexes, whom he had rescued from chains, ^{or} He himself boasts of having delivered twenty thousand: he means, no doubt, in different Campaigns.

* The year ensuing, upon some general advices that there was a league forming in *Germany* against the *Romans*, *Julian* dispatched the Tribune *Hariobaudes* to King *Horatius*, with the character of an Ambassador, and with private orders to discover what passed in the neighbouring States. Whilst he expected his return, he rebuilt several Places upon the *Rhine*, and the public granaries ^{upon hills to fit the destin'd}

* Amm. l. xviii. c. 2. xvii. 10.

destin'd for the corn which he had sent for from *Great-Britain*. This was a spectacle worthy of the *Roman* greatness, to see so many Cities shooting up from their ruins, and rising at the expence of those very People, who thought they had destroy'd them for ever. One of the conditions which he had imposed upon his new Allies, was to furnish at their own expence, and deliver upon the spot, all the necessary materials. The *Barbarians* brought them, and the *Romans* made use of them; the former out of their fear of *Julian*; the latter out of affection to him; both with equal assiduity, and even the auxiliary Troops signalized their zeal, though they had always pretended to an exemption from these kinds of labour. They made it a diversion to carry beams of fifty feet long upon their shoulders, which before they woud not have touched with the end of their fingers; so thoroughly had *Julian* found the art of overcoming the delicacy of the Foreigners.

* The *Cæsar* at length heard by the return of his Tribune, that six Kings had united all their forces to dispute with him the passage of the *Rhine*. It was easy for him to pass it at *Mentz*. But fearing lest the dominions of *Suomarius*, his Ally, shoud suffer by the march of his Troops, he sought elsewhere

* Amm. xviii. 2. lib. or. x. 2. 282.

for a place proper to erect a bridge. As the *Germans* on the other side of the river, followed his motions step by step, *Julian* thought of a stratagem which succeeded. He concealed three hundred men in a valley, and marching towards another place, he drew the Enemy thither, who never lost sight of him. These three hundred men went down the river in the night, in forty boats without oars, and landed unperceived by the Barbarians. That very night all the Kings and confederate Lords returned late from a great feast, which had been given by *Hortarius*, who, though subject to the Empire, kept well with his neighbours, and lived upon good terms with them. The *Romans* attacked these Princes, who not being upon their guard against such an adventure, escaped with difficulty by the favour of the night, and lost a considerable number of their Party. Their flight filled the Camp of the Barbarians with terror; who, imagining that the *Roman* army had passed the river, dispersed themselves to their wives and children to find for them some place of safety. Thus *Julian* entered into *Germany* without meeting any resistance: he ravag'd the Dominions of the six confederate Kings, putting to the sword all he met; and obliged them to sue for a peace, which they obtained by delivering up their prisoners.

The

* The Prince, upon his arrival at *Paris*, received news not a little vexatious. In *Great Britain* (p) the *Scots* and *Picts* depopulated the frontiers of the Empire, and threaten'd the southern part of the island which was subject to the *Romans*. To have quitted *Gaul*, woud have been to abandon them again to the *Germans*, who were more properly humbled, than subdued. He therefore contented himself during the winter, with sending into *Great Britain*, at the head of some Troops, *Lupicinus* Generalissimo of the horse, who had succeeded *Severus*, deceas'd about a year and half. If Julian thought of getting himself proclaimed *Augustus*, it was necessary to place that Officer at a distance. But it is more easy to accuse, than to convict him, of projecting the revolution, which happened soon after the departure of *Lupicinus*.

† It is not indeed to be doubted, but that upon the faith of some predictions and dreams, he had flattered himself with one day becoming Emperor: and even setting aside predictions, he was the sole Heir of *Constantius*.

* Amm. I. xx. 1. (p) The people named *Scoti*, are properly the inhabitants of *Ireland*, which was formerly named *Scotia*. There was even then a Colony of them in the northern part of *Great Britain*, to which they have given their name.

† Amm. ib. Jul. Ep. xvii. Id. ad Ath.

there wanted but one step to the Throne. Yet it is one thing to hope, or even to wish for Empire, and another to endeavour to rise to it by a crime. He calls all his Gods to witness his innocence. Such an oath woud be decisive in the mouth of a Pagan, convinced of the truth of his Religion, as *Julian* was, even to fanatacism and enthusiasm, if he had not given proofs of his dissimulation. But when a man is capable of being at once of two Religions, of believing one, and professing the other, he may dispense with perjury. However that may be, we must confess, that if this Prince actuated those springs which elevated him to the supreme Power, he concealed his machinations so well that he appeared to owe all to chance, and nothing to intrigue.

Constantius still at war with the *Persians*, and more and more disgusted at the reputation of *Julian*, sent into Gaul a Secretary of State, called *Decentius*, to bring into the East the most experienced Corps of *Julian's* Army, and to select the flower of his other Troops. * These orders were addressed in part to *Lupicinus*, and in part to the *Caesar's* Master of the horse, and were conceived in terms the most affronting to that Prince, who was writ to only, that he must not oppose the will of the Emperor. Never situation

* Amm. xx. 4. Jul. ad Athen. Zosim. 1. iii. Liban. or. x. 283.

was more embarrassing than his. If he refused to obey, he drew upon himself the displeasure of *Constantius*. If he suffered his brave Soldiers to be forced from him, he left himself and the *Gauls* at the mercy of the Barbarians. He could have wished to have conferred with *Lupicinus* and *Florentius*, probably to engage them to make remonstrances to the Emperor. But the former had passed the sea, as we have already said, and the latter was at *Vienne*, from whence notwithstanding the pressing letters of *Julian*, he obstinately refused to return; for as he was conscious of being the author of this evil, by the advice he had given the Emperor, he dreaded the resentment of the Army.

* *Julian* bereft of advice, and apprehensive that he shoud be responsible for the fatal consequences he foresaw, thought of quitting the Purple, and returning to a private life. He only waited to do this, he says, till the return of *Lucipinus* and the Prefect. On the other hand, *Decentius* and the Master of the horse, pretending that it was not a Matter of deliberation but obedience, acquitted themselves of their commission. They draughted out all the men of vigour amongst the Legionaries, beginning with *Julian*'s own Guards, and left him only the shadows of Soldiers, who could

* *Jul. Amm. ibid.*

coud be of no service, says that Prince, but to offer vows for the Combarants. In regard to the Auxiliaries, he coud not forbear representing that it was a breach of promise; that they had entered into the service upon condition of not passing the *Alps*; and that for the future no foreign Troops woud enlist themselves with the *Romans*. But *Julian* was not listened to. It is impossible to express the discontent of the Troops, and the consternation of the People. Nothing was heard but complaints and groans, as if the Country had been already a Prey to the Barbarians. They believ'd themselves plung'd again in the Calamities, from which they were just rescued. The Wives of the Soldiers (for several of them were married) presented to their eyes their little Infants at the breast, and conjured them not to abandon them.

* In a Town not far from *Paris*, which serv'd as quarters to the *Petulantes* and *Cela* (two Bodies of Troops that were to be carried off) some person unknown (*Zosimus* pretends that it was some Officer) dropp'd a billet, which soon ran amongst the Soldiers. Amongst other complaints, it contained these words: *We are banished like criminals to the extremity of the earth: our wives and our children must again fall into that Servitude, from which we have delivered*

* *Jul. Amm. Zosim. ib. lib. vi. 284.*

livered them at the peril of our Lives. *Decentius* and those who were attached to *Constantius* took the alarm, and pressed *Julian* eagerly to cause the Troops to depart. " If " you persist, said they, in waiting for *Lupi-*
" *cinus* and the Prefect, you will ruin your-
" self in the opinion of the Emperor: you
" will verify all his suspicions. The obli-
" gation will be due only to those two
" Officers: but by your preventing them,
" you will have the sole merit of this obe-
" dience." He yielded. But when he drew up
the orders that were demanded of him, he
took care to have carriages appointed for
the Soldiers who had wives, that they might
take with them their families.

It was matter of deliberation whether they shoud pass through *Paris*. The Prince thought it convenient. *Decentius* on the contrary feared, that, if they shoud depart without bidding adieu to *Julian*, it might be a new occasion of mutiny. This Officer even insisted that the *Cæsar* shoud meet them, according to the usual custom. *Julian* came out of the City, and received them with great affability, addressing his speech to all who were known to him, reminding them of their past actions, and exhorting them to go and join the Emperor, who had both inclination and power to recompence their merit. He ascended his Tribunal, and made them a long harangue upon this subject, to which

F. they

they reply'd only by a melancholy silence : whilst the People who had flocked thither in crouds, implored them not to deliver up to the Barbarians a Country which they had redeemed by their valour.

* Julian entertained the Officers at dinner, who retired into their Camp inconsolable at being obliged at the same time to abandon their Country and so good a Prince. The Soldiers were not less afflicted. The hour of supper being come, they conversed with each other upon their common misfortunes. Murmurs broke forth ; they mutually animated each other ; and the warmth of wine having enflamed their sorrow, all taking to their arms at the beginning of the night, they run to the Palace and invest it, crying out in the most dreadful manner : JULIAN AUGUSTUS, conjuring him at the same time to appear. In his Manifesto to the *Athenians*, he assures them with an Oath, that he had not the least suspicion of what was to happen. Only he acknowledges that towards sun-set, he had received some advices : but not knowing what to think of them, or to determine, he had retired as usual, into his apartment to repose himself. He had then a dream, says *Ammianus Marcellinus*, which he told to his most intimate friends. He imagined he saw a young man naked, hold-

* Amm. ib. c. 5. Zos. Jul. ib. Liban. ib. & Paneg.

ing the horn of Plenty, as the genius of the Empire was represented, who said to him with a reproaching tone: "I have long, Julian, kept myself concealed at thy door, and employ'd all my concern for thy elevation. Thou hast frequently forced me to retire. If even now, contrary to the sentiments of the whole World, thou refusest to receive me, I shall depart melancholy and dejected. But at the same time remember, that I have not long to remain with thee."

* Julian hearing the cries of the Soldiers, addressed himself to Jupiter, desiring him to make his will known to him. He believed he received a presage from him, which ordered him to accept the Empire: but he could not bring himself to resolve upon it, so apprehensive was he of being thought an Usurper. He stood out the Siege all night, the Soldiers still persisting in their entreaties. In the morning they broke open the gates, and forced him to appear. When they saw him, they cried out more vehemently than before: JULIAN AUGUSTUS. This Prince withstood them all in general, and each in particular, caressing, menacing, expressing his indignation, and conjuring them not to wish all their Laurels by an imprudent step, which must be attended by a Civil War. He even gave them his promise, that they shoud

* Ibidem. ib.

not pass the *Alps* : And took upon himself to engage the Emperor to approve their reasons. All was in vain. They redoubled their solicitations and cries, with which they began to intermix menaces and reproaches. *Julian*, who had held out till nine in the morning, perceiving his life in danger, and that after his death they woud elect another Emperor, submitted to their will. They elevated him upon a shield, and declared him *Augustus*. A Diadem was wanting to render the ceremony complete. *Julian* protested he never had one. They woud have had him borrow his Consort's necklace, or some ornament of her head. That, he reply'd, woud be a bad Omen. For want of a better thing, they were going to take part of the trappings of a horse (q): but he thought that indecent. Upon which an Ensign named *Maurus*, took off the Collar he had on, enriched with jewels and placed it on the head of *Julian*; who promised to each Soldier five pieces of gold and a pound of silver. In this manner was he raised to the Empire about the month of *March* or *April*, at the age of twenty-eight and a half, himself being then Consul for the third time, and *Constantius* for the tenth.

THE
(q) Equi phalera.

THE LIFE OF JULIAN. 160. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.

THE LIFE OF JULIAN The APOSTATE.

THE * new Emperor retired into the recesses of his Palace, oppressed with chagrin and inquietude. He wore no Diadem, and gave no orders in the most pressing affairs, either that day or the next. The air of melancholy and confusion which reigned in his Court, emboldened the Creatures of *Constantius* to distribute money, in order to corrupt the Soldiery, and, according to *Libanius*, even to suborn an Eunuch to attempt his life. He was apprised of their intrigues by an Officer of the Empress his Consort, who finding his intelligence disregarded, ran into the public square, crying

* Jul. ad Athen. lib, or. x. 285. Amm. xx. 5.

aloud: *Soldiers, Strangers, Country-men, do not betray your Emperor!* The Soldiers ran in arms to the Palace, and as the motive of their coming thither was not known, spread a terror amongst the Guards of the Emperor. Finding him alive, in the transports of their joy, they embrace him, caress him in their arms, and carry him upon their shoulders with a kind of enthusiastic fury. On every side they surround him, and demand of him to deliver up to them the friends of *Constantius*. *All the Gods are conscious*, says *Julian* in his manifesto, *what attacks I was forced to withstand to preserve their lives.* He pardoned also the Eunuch who had undertaken his assassination.

The first time he appeared upon his Tribunal invested in his Imperial Robes, he declared, he woud bestow all Employments, Civil and Military, on merit only, without paying any regard to applications. This declaration highly flattered the self-esteem of the common Soldiers, who imagined they shoud have a right to put in their claim to all Offices. But at that very moment the *Petulantes* and *Celtæ* demanded Governments for the Super-intendants of the provisions, which appears something extraordinary: and what is not less so, *Julian* had the courage to refuse them, and they the consideration not to take it amiss.

* Amm. ibid.

* Upon

* Upon these events, he sent a solemn embassy to *Constantius*. He writ to him in a resolute and yet modest style, as one who was under no apprehensions from his anger, and yet sincerely wished his friendship. In this letter, in which he assumed the title only of *Cesar*, after recalling to his memory his fidelity and past services, he says : " That he must not impute it to him, if " Soldiers without pay or donations, half " naked, long discontented at gaining Vic- " tories to their ruin, under a General who " coud do them no service, had been driven " to extremities by an order which tore " them from their Country, their wives and " their children, to transport them into a " Climate so very different from their own : " that as to him, what he had done was " no more than in submission to the " most evident violences, of which he laid " before him a detail : that flatterers in- " terested in setting Princes at variance " might use another language ; but he " entreated him to consider, that the good " of the Empire and of both the Emperors, " required they shoud be united by friend- " ship, as they were by blood : he begged " him to excuse the liberty he took of in- " terposing his counsel, who shoud always " esteem it a pleasure to obey his orders : " that he woud send him annually Spanish

“ horses and foreign Soldiers to incorporate
“ into the *Roman* troops : that he woud
“ receive from his hands the Praetorian Pre-
“ fects, reserving to himself the right of
“ nominating to all other Employments :
“ that as to the rest, in the condition which
“ Gaul was still in, they must not flatter
“ themselves that it was possible either to
“ persuade or constrain the Army to quit
“ their native Country, still menaced by
“ the Barbarians, to march to the assistance
“ of the East.”

* To this specious letter, writ to be
made public, he joind another which was
to be private, fill'd with injurious language
and invectives. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as
favourable as he is to this Prince, says, that
he coud never get sight of it, but that, if
he had seen it, he shoud have been sure not
to have imparted it to the Public, it re-
flected so much dishonour on its author.
Julian being now no longer accountable for
his actions, began to throw off the mask.
Though he had all the reason imaginable to
wish for peace, yet he gave himself up to
resentment, and provoked to the last degree
the person whose good will it was his greatest
interest to secure ; so that it was not owing
to this Philosopher, that a Civil War did
not ensue.

* The

• Amm. ibid.

* The ambassadors found *Constantius* at *Cæsarea in Cappadocia*. Upon reading the letters with which they were charged, this Prince flew into the most dreadful rage; and looking upon them with an air that seemed to threaten their lives, he commanded them to leave his presence, without descending to give them any farther audience, or to ask them any questions. He was very near quitting the *Persian* war, to march directly against *Julian*. However, he only dispatched a *Quæstor* named *Leonas* to him, with a menacing letter; and as if to command was sufficient to make himself obey'd, he recalled the principal Officers of *Julian*, and named others in their places. *Leonas* was received at *Paris* with the respect due to his character and his merit, and admitted to an audience by *Julian*, seated upon his *Tribunal*, and surrounded by the *Soldiery* and the *People*, whom he had assembled in the *Campus Martius*. The *Quæstor* read aloud *Constantius*'s Letter, which amongst other things reproached *Julian*, that left, as he was, a tender *Orphan*, he had found in him an affectionate father, who had taken care of his infancy and his education. Upon which *Julian* cry'd out: *If I was an Orphan, how became I so? Is it for the Executioner of my Father*

F 5

and

* Amm. ib. c. 10. Zonar. l. xiii.

and my whole Family to make me this reproach? The Wound is still bleeding: 'Twas he who gave it; and would he still add to its anguish? At that Part of the Letter, where Constantius declared no other way was left for Julian to save the life of himself and his Friends, but to return to his duty and quit the Diadem? I am ready to quit it, said he, if those from whom I had it give their consent. The Soldiers and People with loud acclamations confirmed to him the title of *Augustus*. Of the new Officers named by Constantius, he received only the Prefect of the Praetorium, called *Nebridius*, and disposed of the other Employments as he thought proper.

* After he had dismissed *Leonas*, and sent a new Embassy to the eastern Court; that he might keep his Troops in exercise and preserve the reputation he had gained, he passed the *Rhine* for the fourth time, subdued the *Attuarii*, a people of the *Franks*, who still made incursions into *Gaul*; re-passed the *Rhine*, reviewing and strengthening all the Garrisons on the frontier Places as far as the Country of the *Rauraci* (r); from whence he repaired to *Besançon*, and from thence to *Vienne*, where he kept his winter-quarters.

* Amm. xx. 10. xxi. 1.

(r) Now the canton of *Basil*. *Augst* (*Augustæ Rauracorum*) a *Roman Colony* was the Capital of the *Rauraci*. This City is now only a Village, situated two leagues above *Basil*.

quarters. He solemnized there by public Games the fifth year of his Reign, computing from the time of his being *Cesar*. Instead of an ordinary Diadem which he had worn till then, he put on the Diadem adorned with Pearls and Jewels, such as the Emperors had worn since *Constantine*.

* The more sensible *Julian* was of his weakness compared with *Constantius*, who was master of all the Troops of the Empire, the more he affected to raise himself in the eyes of the People, and to make a parade of sufficiency and assurance, which is sometimes of more service than real strength. When he reflected upon the good fortune of that Prince against domestic Enemies and his reputation of being invincible in civil Wars, he was inclined to redouble his applications to get himself acknowledged by him. But at the same time he knew that *Constantius* was far from being a slave to his promises; and that at the best he shoud only obtain the semblance of a peace, more dangerous than an open rupture. After what had happened to *Callus*, how was it possible to trust his oaths! Besides, Presages, Dreams, and the Theurgic operations which he performed secretly with *Oribasius* and *Eumenius*, under the direction of a Pontiff whom he had sent for out of *Greece*, promised him the

* Amm. xxi. 1, 2. Zosim. 1. iii. Zonar. 1. xiii.
Eunap. V. M. 76.

most fortunate events, and amongst the rest the speedy death of *Constantius*. One night being half awake, he imagined he saw a Phantome shining with light, who several times repeated four *Greek* verses, of which this is the sense :

When *Saturn* in his oblique course shall run
Thro' *Virgo* (s) three times eight degrees and one,
And *Jove* shall terminate th' æthereal urn,
Its monarch's destiny let *Asia* mourn.

Yet the dread of being esteemed ungrateful, deterred him from yet declaring himself his enemy ; as the fear of alienating the minds of the Soldiers and Natives of the *West*, most of whom were Christians, oblig'd him to dissemble his Apostacy, till he was firmly enough established to disclose himself with impunity. The day of the Epiphany, this hypocritical Prince came in pomp to Church, where he pretended to adore Jelus Christ, whilst he meditated the utter extinction of his Religion.

* Near the same time he lost his Consort *Helena*, of whom we find nothing in History either good or ill. He had no children by her, except a Prince, whom the midwife (t), hired by *Eusebia*, had murdered

(s) This intimates, 'tis said, the Month of November.

* Amm. l. xxi. c. i. xvi. 10. xxv. 4. Jul. Misop. Id. Ep. xi.

(t) *Obstetrix corrupta mercede mox natum, praefecto plusquam convenerat umbilico, necavit.*

ed in its birth. After which the same Empress, engaging her sister-in-law to come and see her at *Rome*, gave her a draught which prevented her from ever having a child. This kind of poison, possibly shortened her days. We can scarce conceive such a baseness in *Eusebia*, Julian's great benefactress. But she was herself barren, and desperate for being so. Was she only a Friend of *Julian*, or was she jealous of him? Foreseeing that sooner or later he woud be Emperor, did she not think of preserving an ascendant over him, which the fruitfulness of *Helena* might have deprived her of? *Julian* did not marry again, making a resolution in the flower of his age, to renounce even lawful pleasures. The Pagan authors give a complete (u) elogy of his chastity, to which nothing can be added but the silence of the Christians upon that head. He frequently repeated, out of a Greek poet, That chastity is to the moral character of a Man, what the head is to a fine Statue: and that incontinence is sufficient to fully the most beautiful life. Yet the inhabitants of *Antioch* in the *Misopogon*, accusing him of being insensible to voluptuousness, reproach him with *seldom* admitting a

partner

(u) *Ita inviolatâ castitate entituit, ut post amissam conjugem nihil unquam venereum agitaret . . . ut ne suspicione quidem tenuis libidinis ullius vel citerioris vitæ ministris incusaretur.*

partner to his bed: which implies that he sometimes did so. In another place he speaks of the Foster-father of his children; and 'tis certain he had none that were legitimate. Is it that he was a Hypocrite in his Morals? If so, why did he betray himself? And how came these confessions to escape the Christians?

* Before the conclusion of the Winter, he received news which was likely to have overturned all his schemes. The Germans, contrary to the faith of Treaties, began again to make incursions, and pillage Rhætia. (x). The Officer whom he had sent against them, having attacked them indiscreetly, was left dead upon the place. The Author of these disorders was, as it was supposed, King *Vadomarius*, who had a private understanding with *Constantius* to detain *Julian* in Gaul, by fomenting new wars against him. *Vadomarius* was a man of a dangerous and intriguing spirit, who, whilst he lavished on the new Emperor the names of *Augustus*, *Lord*, and even *God*, was secretly plotting and writing to *Constantius* against him. One of his letters was intercepted, in which, amongst other things disadvantageous to *Julian*, he said: *Your Cæsar breaks loose: 'tis no longer*

possible
* Amm. xxi. 3. 4. Lib. or. x. 286. 288. Jul. ad Athen.

(x) Now the Country of the Grisons.

possible to restrain him (y). This Letter opened Julian's eyes, who dissembling also, and opposing artifice to artifice, drew him on this side the Rhine, had him seized, and banished him into Spain. He pretended also to have found letters from Constantius, by which that Emperor invited the Barbarians to throw themselves into Gaul; an expedient which had formerly been of service to him. Julian dispersed the old letters written against Magnentius, and the new ones against himself. These pieces, true or false, contributed much to alienate the People from a Prince always ready to sacrifice the most beautiful Provinces of the Empire to his own private interest. As soon as he was master of Vadomarius, he passed the Rhine in the night for the fifth and last time, surprised the Barbarians, and forced them to swear to a peace which they never presumed to violate again, during his life.

^{water}* The intrigues of Constantius convinced him still farther what success he must expect from the negociation which he still carried on with the Court of Constantinople. Constantius endeavoured to put himself in such a situation as to be in no apprehension from the Persians, that so he might come into the West, and catch Julian, as he term-

(y) *Cæsar tuus disciplinam non habet.*

* Amm. xxi. 7. 5. Jul. ad Athen. Zosim. iii. Liban. or. x. 286.

ed it : for he spake of this expedition as of an airing, or of a party of hunting. He had in the last place sent to him a Bishop of the Gauls, who was then in the East, named *Eusebius*, with a promise to him of life, and nothing more. *Julian* lost all patience: he threw off the mask intirely, and said publicly, That he committed the safety of his life, not to *Constantius*, but to the *Gods*. After this he offered a sacrifice to the Goddess of war, at which he imagined he saw favourable omens. He assembled his Soldiers, laid before them the design he had to seize upon *Illyria*, that he might be enabled to make war with more equal strength, or peace upon better terms. He conjured them above all things ever to remember, that their prudent discipline, and their care not to oppress the People, had heaped upon them more glory than the defeat of so many thousands of their enemies. He had scarce done speaking, when the same Soldiers, who the year before had shewn so invincible a repugnance to quit *Gaul*, mingling their acclamations with the noise of their pikes and bucklers, protested that they were ready to follow *Julian* to the extremity of the world; and raising their swords to their throats, bound themselves with terrible imprecations to shed even the last drop of their blood for him. The Officers and the whole Court also took the same oath,

oath, excepting *Nebridius* Prefect of the Praetorium, a creature of *Constansius*'s and load-ed with his favours, who had so much ge-
nerosity as to be faithful to his first engage-
ments. The Soldiers woud have torn him to
pieces: but *Julian* covering him with his
Robe shielded him from their fury. When this
Prince was returned to the palace, he found
Nebridius, who had got thither before him,
and who upon his knees implored him to
give him his hand to kiss as an assurance
of safety. *If I give my Hand to you*, re-
ply'd he, *what shall I reserve then for*
those who are attached to me? *But you*
have nothing to fear: retire where you think
proper.

* His army consisted only of twenty thousand men: but such an enterprize as his demanded to be hastily dispatched, and depended less upon numbers than expedition. He divided the Army into three Bodies, to conceal his weakness and spread terror in several places. He assigned them different routs, and appointed the general rendez-vouz at *Sirmium* (2), the Capital of *Illyria*. Himself at the head of the least numerous Body, departs from the Country of the *Rauraci*, takes the road to the *Danube*, advances

* Amm. xxi. 8. 9. Zosim. iii. Liban. or. Conf.

242.

(2) At present *Sirmisch*, or *Sirmich*, a small Town almost ruined in the *Lower Hungary*.

by long marches, by water, by land ; sometimes on the side of the river which belonged to the Barbarians, sometimes on that which was subject to the *Romans*. Swifter than fame, he every where opens himself a passage, less by the force of his Army, than the privacy of its march ; insomuch that at *Sirmium*, upon a report spread of the arrival of the Emperor, they were almost tempted to believe it was *Constantius*. Before he reached that Place, by favour of a dark night he surprised in his bed Count *Lucillian*, Commander of the Troops of the Province, who, upon some confused reports, was thinking to assemble his Soldiers. He was brought before *Julian*, with the terrors of death in his face ; when the Emperor gave him assurance of safety, by permitting him to kiss his Purple. The Count recovered enough from his fear to utter his speech, but not to weigh the proper terms of it, presumed to say to him : *My Lord, 'tis a piece of indiscretion and temerity to throw yourself thus with so inconsiderable a number into the midst of your Enemies.* *Julian* answered with a disdainful Smile : *Keep your prudent and discreet Counsels for Constantius. I did not give you my Purple to kiss to receive your advice, but to cure your fear* (a).

* He

(a) *Majestatis insigne non ut confiliario tibi, sed ut desinas pavere, porrexi.*

* He was received the next day into *Sirmium* in triumph, about ten or twelve days after his departure out of *Gaul*. When he had solemnized his entrance into this great City by chariot Races, he set out from thence the third day in order to seize upon the Pass of *Cherquioi*. This was a very narrow and steep defile between two Chains of Mountains, called *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, which separate *Thrace* from *Illyria*. Julian having made himself Master of that Post returned into the City of *Nissa* to wait for his Troops, and levy new Soldiers. During this residence he wrote to several Cities of *Greece*; amongst the rest to *Athens*, *Lacedæmon* and *Corinth*, not only to draw them over to his Party, but also to justify his actions. He could not disguise from himself that his conduct had an air of ingratitude and rebellion, which sat uneasy on a Prince, who, by the confession even of his Admirers, did every thing with a view to glory, and was particularly ambitious of the *Greeks* esteem. He had form'd to himself, out of Pedantry and Zeal for Paganism, an idea of them much beyond what they had been, even in the noblest times of *Greece*. It was one of his maxims, that none but a Tyrant could give to the rest of the World his caprice for law, his power for proof, and his suc-

^{cess}
* Amm. xxi. 10. Zos. iii. Liban. or. Conf. 242,
Liban. or. x. 288.

cess for reason. Besides, Julian looked upon it as a point of Honour and Religion to make the *Athenians* his Judges, celebrated in Antiquity for their love of Justice, and to carry his cause to the Tribunal of the *Areopagus*, before which the Gods themselves had heretofore appeared. Of all his Manifestos, we have only that left which he addressed to them. 'Tis an elegant and perfectly well writ Piece, which has furnished me with many particulars.

* Julian needed no Apology with the Greeks. Without using reason or eloquence, the permission he gave them to re-open their Temples, was sufficient to gain over a People, who panted after the re-establishment of their antient Superstitions, the interruption of which had rendered their life almost insupportable. He did not content himself with barely permitting; he exhorted, he animated them by his example, publicly offering Sacrifices, and sending magnificent presents to the most celebrated Temples of Greece. It must be about the time when he began to profess Idolatry, that by an Act of Enthusiasm, which raises horror, he undertook to efface in himself the Characteristic of a Christian. 'Tis thought that he made use of the ridiculous and shocking

* Lib. or. x. 218. Jul. ad Athen. Greg. N. or. iii. 70. Van Dale de Orac. M. de Fontenelle, Hist. des Oracles.

ing ceremony of the *Taurobolium* or *Criobolium*, unknown in antient Paganism, and invented, as is most probable, solely in opposition to Christian Baptism. At least it was styled in like manner Regeneration, and the Pagans attributed to it the efficacy of our Divine Sacrament. He who was to be thus regenerated, descended into a kind of pit. There through a cover pierced with several holes, upon which they cut the throat of a Bull or Ram, the Proselyte received the blood of the Victim all over his body. From thence he came out in the condition which may be easily imagined: but was, said the Pagans, a new man: no pollution was proof against so powerful an Expiation (b). It was thus, or in some such manner, Julian endeavoured to annihilate his Baptism; and washed in the blood of Animals, those hands, which he thought defiled for having received in them, according to the custom of the antient Church, the unbloody Sacrifice. He did this nevertheless in secret, either because he had not yet declared himself a Pagan, or because such a step seemed to add a new degree of guilt to his Apostacy.

* I know not whether we shoud not place about

(b) Though they styled this a Regeneration for eternity, nevertheless they renewed it at the end of twenty years.

* Greg. N. ib. Sozom. v. 2.

about the same time a very uncommon fact, which St. *Gregory Nazianzen* relates upon public report, and *Sozomen* without appearing to doubt of it. *Julian* assisted at a Sacrifice, where there was found imprinted upon the entrails of the Victim, a cross surrounded by a kind of circle or crown. This Prodigy disconcerted the Assistants, who look'd upon it as a presage of the triumph and perpetual duration of the Christian Religion; because the crown was a symbol of Empire, and the circle of eternity. But the Sacrificer, without hesitation, gave another explication to the Prodigy. *You don't understand the thing*, said he; *the Circle which encloses the Cross, shews that Christianity can extend itself no farther, and that its fatal Term is arrived. Behold the Christians inclosed. They shall not escape us.*

* *Illyria, Macedonia and Greece* were not the only Provinces that declared for *Julian*. At the report of his march, *Italy* trembled, and with *Sicily* submitted to him. He addressed to the *Roman Senate* a virulent invective against *Constantius*. While the *Prefect Tertullus* was reading it in full *Senate*, that august Assembly betray'd those sparks of liberty then remaining, which do honour to their courage and gratitude. They all with one voice cry'd out, applying

ing themselves to Julian as if he had been present: *Pray (c) treat with more Respect the Person to whom you owe what you are.* Keeping no longer measures with Constantius, Julian spared not the memory of Constantine, whom he accused of having subverted the ancient laws, to substitute new ones in their place. 'Tis easy to guess what innovation of Constantine's gave him the most concern. However, he reproached him others also, such as having been the first that opened to the Barbarians an entrance to Dignities, and even to the Consulate. This reproach might have some foundation: but it served soon after to shew the levity and inconstancy of the Censurer, who rais'd to the Consulate one of his Generals named Nevitta, still more a Barbarian in his manners than by his birth, and far inferior to those in whose favour Constantine had deviated from the ancient customs.

* The prosperities of Julian, which made him speak with so little caution, were interrupted of a sudden by an unforeseen event, which might have ruin'd him beyond resource. He had found in *Sirmium* two Legions affectionately attached to

(c) Quæ cum Tertullo administrante adhuc Praefecture turam recitarentur in Curiâ, eminuit Nobilitatis cum speciosa fiducia benignitas grata. Exclamatum est enim, in unam cunctorum sententiâ congruente: AV-

TORI TUO REVERENTIAM, ROGAMUS.

* Amm. l. xxi. 11, 12.

Constantius; and upon that very account, he had resolved to place them at a distance, by sending them into *Gaul*. Upon the rout these Male-contents plotted together to make themselves masters of the City of *Aquileia*, and accordingly seized upon it in concert with the Inhabitants, giving thus to all *Italy* the signal of a revolt against *Julian*. This City seated at the bottom of the gulph of the Adriatic sea, was the key of *Italy* and *Gaul* on the side of *Illyria*. It had sustained several sieges, and had never yet been taken. If the two Legions, which had there canton'd themselves, had seized upon the defiles of the Alps (d), *Julian* woud have lost all communication with the remainder of the West (e), from whence he expected his succours. What had he not to fear from the East? Already Count *Marcian*, having reassembled the Soldiers who were in *Thrace*, was advancing towards the pass of *Cherquioi*. *Julian* saw himself upon the brink of being surrounded in *Illyria*. At the first account of the Revolt of *Aquileia*, he had caus'd

(d) The Alps in this Place were called *Alpes Iuliæ*, because *Julius Cæsar* had made himself a Passage there. 'Tis that Part of the *Alps*, which separates *Carniola* from *Istria* and *Friuli*.

(e) St. *Gregory Nazianzen* speaks as an Orator of the Revolt of *Aquileia*, when he says that *Julian* had behind him an Army of *Constantius's*, which cut off the possibility of a Retreat.

caus'd part of his Troops to return back, and invest that Place. But this diversion weakened him ; and the Besieged defended themselves (f) with incredible valour.

* Julian without being disconcerted, continued to levy Soldiers in *Illyria*. This frontier, and consequently warlike Province, furnished him with those already formed. In the midst of these alarms and preparations, he found time, and preserved temper of mind to hear Causes, and determine Law-suits. He gave orders for the relief and re-establishment of Cities and Provinces. He provided for the necessities of *Rome*, where there was a scarcity of corn. *Lucius Aurelius Symmachus*, (whose Son, under the reign of *Theodosius*, pleaded the cause of Paganism with so much eloquence and so little solidity) and another Senator named *Maximus*, went to meet Julian at *Nissa*. They were returning from the East, whither the Senate of *Rome* had deputed them to *Constantius*. Julian received these two Magistrates with distinction, and gave the Prefecture of *Rome* to *Maximus*. *Symmachus* was more capable of filling that eminent Post. He had just drawn upon himself the eyes and admiration of all *Antioch* : but Julian preferred *Maximus*,

(n) It was with difficulty that they yielded, even after the death of *Constantius*.

* Amm. l. xxi. 12.

mus, because he was, as is supposed, a relation of the *Cæsar Gallus*. At the same time, to shew that he looked upon himself as master of the Empire, this Prince nominated for Consuls *Mamertinus*, Prefect of the Praetorium in *Illyria*, and *Nevitta*, whom we have already mentioned.

* However, for all he coud do to dissemble his uneasiness, it was not less real. He assiduously observed the flight of birds and the entrails of the victims, making use of all those means by which Pagan credulity hoped to penetrate into Futurity. Frequently he received ambiguous Omens, which plunged him into the most cruel uncertainties. As there was only an arbitrary connexion between what the Pagans were pleased to take for signs of future events and the events themselves, these signs were usually capable of different explications, so that, with a small degree of understanding, they might be made to signify things directly opposite. At length *Aprunculus*, a Gaulish Orator, profound in the science of the *Aruspices*, let him know that he had found the liver of a Victim enclosed in a double cawl. This, according to the rules of the Art, was a happy Omen: but *Julian* doubted of the fact, apprehending that their design was to flatter him. Whilst he was in these agitations, one day the Soldier who

came to assist him in mounting his horse, fell down, (g) and the Prince cry'd out aloud: *The Man that rais'd me is fallen.* This expression, joined to the accident of the Soldier, seemed to every body, and to Julian himself, clearly to presage the death of *Constantius*. Nevertheless he did not yet determine to quit *Illyria*. For the Pagans who were most attached to Divination in general, believed they might easily be deceived in particular cases; not from any insufficiency of the Art itself, but from the mistakes of those who made a wrong application of its rules. A Grammatican, said they, may sometimes speak incorrectly; a Physician be ignorant of a disease, and a Musician may sound a false note, without any derogation of the Arts of Grammar, Physic, or Music. Thus they endeavoured to reply to the facts which were objected against them to prove the vanity and folly of this pretended Science: and their reply woud have been satisfactory, if they cou'd have demonstrated, that Divination rested upon any solid foundation. But even by their own confession there was great uncertainty in it. Julian then not daring to risk a decisive step upon what, after all, might prove only a vain

G 2 conjecture,

(g) *Lapsus militis, qui se in sessurum equo dextrâ manu erexit, humique prostrato, exclamavit illico, audientibus multis, cecidisse qui eum ad culmen evexit.*

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conjecture, (b) waited at the pass of *Cherquioi* for news of *Constantius*, who by a most surprising concurrence of events, if true, had finished his days, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*; at the very instant when *Julian*'s Soldier fell (i).

Constantius, terrified at the progress of an enemy, whom he at first despised, had departed

(b) *Nec enim cautum ducebat conjecturis credere*
sorsitan in contrarium erupturis.

(i) St. *Greg. Nazianzen* believes that *Julian* caused *Constantius* to be poisoned. But the Justice which is due to all Mankind, obliges me to observe, that this Father is the only original Writer who accuses him of that Crime, and that he founds the accusation, solely upon a way of reasoning which is not demonstrative. *Julian*, says he, knew of *Constantius*'s death before it happened; he was therefore the Author of it; for if the Dæmons know Futurity, and coud have foretold it to him, they woud not have left him ignorant of the fatal and speedy death which attended himself in *Perſia*. But has not God, who by a just Judgment sheds, when and as he pleases, a spirit of error over those who prefer Falshood to Truth, frequently made known to the Powers of Darkness some distant events, without unveiling to them the whole of Futurity, and opening (if I may so say) the Treasures of his Omnipotence? The Dæmon might therefore foresee the death of *Constantius*, and be ignorant of that of *Julian*. But besides, was he totally ignorant of it? The Genius of the Empire had foretold to *Julian*, that he shoud not long be with him. No one has a more sincere respect for St. *Gregory Nazianzen* But I fear he has brought too heavy a charge against the Memory of *Julian*, as he is undoubtedly too favourable to *Constantius*, whom he makes the greatest Prince that ever reigned, and even a Saint.

parted from *Anioch* about the end of autumn. He had sent his Troops before, and himself followed by long marches towards the West. At *Tarsus* the Capital of *Cilicia*, he was seized with a slight fever, which he thought to get rid of by his journey. * Being arrived through difficult roads at a place named *Mopsucrene* upon the extremity of that Province, he proposed to have set out from thence next day: but the fever stopped him, and became so violent, that he could not bear to be touched. All remedies were fruitless. He at length lost his speech, and after a long and painful agony, died, on the third of *September* 361, aged forty-five years, twenty-five of which he was Emperor, after the death of *Constantine* the Great his father. *Constantius* was a man of a very little genius, who with some few virtues of a private person had scarce one qualification of a Prince. Without being naturally Cruel, and even desirous to be esteemed Humane, he ran into unheard of cruelties through weakness and timidity. He was Indolent and averse to application; Vain and greedy of applause, without any regard to deserve it; a haughty Ruler, and almost a Tyrant over his subjects; a Slave to his Eunuchs, who always preserved the ascendant they had gained over him in his infancy, and made him exercise a despotic power over the

G 3 Church

* *Amm. l. xxi. 13. 15.*

Church in favour of Heresy; insomuch that nothing can be said in his behalf, but that he was always actuated by the impression of others. 'Tis pretended, that upon his death-bed he named *Julian* his successor, willing no doubt to make a merit of giving him what he cou'd no longer keep from him, and by that to engage him to protect *Faustina*, whom he had married after the death of *Eusebia*, (k) and whom he left with child of a Princess, who was afterwards married to the Emperor *Gratian*.

* *Julian*, upon hearing the death of *Constantius*, dropped some few tears, which were soon dry'd up, and with the utmost diligence hastened towards *Constantinople*. The news of his arrival diffused the highest joy thro' this Capital, which was the place of his birth. Crowds of all ages and sexes ran forth to meet him, as soon as they heard he was at *Heraclea*. He entered into *Constantinople* on the eleventh of *december*, accompanied by the Senate, Soldiers, and People. They thought it almost a dream, when they saw this Prince still so young, and of a mien so far inferior to his reputation, who, after having reduced the Kings and Nations of the Barbarians, beginning his progress at the most distant part of *Gaul*, had subdued

(k) *Eusebia* died in the year 360.

* Liban. Or. x. 289. Amm. 1. xxii. 11. Greg. N. Or. iv. p. 119.

in his passage all that opposed him ; and when he was just upon the verge of a Civil War, in which to conquer is almost as fatal as to be conquered, was left sole Lord of the Empire by the right of Succession, without shedding one drop of blood to gain it. Some few days after, the Body of *Constantius* was brought to the Imperial City. *Julian* went out to receive it. As soon as it appeared, he seemed affected, and even wept again, according to *Libanius*. He touch'd the bier with respect, and honoured the Corps with a funeral pomp worthy of an Emperor. He attended the Procession on foot, cloath'd in a plain Purple Robe, and without a Diadem, as far as the *Basilica* of the holy Apostles, the place where *Constantine* and the Princes of his Family were interred.

* At the same time, full of large ideas of Reformation, at the solicitation of several Persons, and, without doubt, not ill pleased himself to satisfy his own resentment in punishing public Offenders, he created a *Chamber of Justice* against those who were said to have abused their power under the preceding Reign. The Members of this Assembly, which was held at *Chalcedon*, did not all reflect honour on *Julian*'s choice. One was at the head of the Judges, who ought more properly to have been in the number

of the accused. They proceeded with an excess of rigour ; so that many who were but half guilty, and some intirely innocent, were treated as the greatest criminals. *Taurus*, the Consul then in Office, was banished to *Verceil*, though he had no other crime laid to his charge but his having fled from *Italy*, when it declared for *Julian*. The Process against him was even dated under his own Consulate, and began thus : *Under the Consulate of Taurus and Florentius* (1), *Taurus being cited appeared in Court* ; which was thought very strange, it being without precedent. The Consulate of *Taurus* was near expiring ; for this affair happened in the month of *december*. What woud it have been to have waited some few days, that they might not have dishonoured the first Dignity of the Empire, which though it was only an empty Title, was still the ambition of private Persons, and served as a decoration to the Emperors ? *Florentius* his Colleague, sometime Prefect of *Gaul*, who woud not have come off with banishment only, concealed himself so well that he never appeared again, and was condemned to death for non appearance. Some time after, *Julian* having broke the *Curiosi* or Agents of the Emperor, two of those Agents offered to discover to him where *Florentius* was concealed, *Confusatu Tauri et Florentii, inducto sub preconibus Tauro.*

concealed, if the Prince woud restore them to their Places. But *Julian* treated them as Informers, saying, it was unworthy of an Emperor to employ such indirect methods, to force out of their retreats unhappy wretches, whom the fear of punishment had reduced to conceal themselves.

* The same Tribunal put to death the great Treasurer *Ursulus*, a Man of merit, who was become odious to the Soldiers of *Constantius*, because he spake of their cowardice with the indignation it deserved. Justice herself, says *Ammianus* (m), seems to me to have lamented this death, and to have reproached *Julian* with his ingratitude. For when he was *Cæsar*, *Ursulus* had permitted the Treasurer of *Gaul*, to furnish him with what money he shoud have occasion for, contrary to the intentions of *Constantius*, who designed he shoud be in want of every thing. This injustice drew upon *Julian* many maledictions. He gave this Officer's Daughter the greatest part of her Father's confiscated Estate, and pretended that he was executed without his privity: But this poor excuse cou'd not justify him, even in

G 5 the

* Amm. I. xxii. 3.

(m) Ursuli vero necem Largitionum Comitis ipsa mihi videtur fuisse Justitia, Imperatorem arguens ut ingratum. . . . Quo extincto cum maledictis execrationibusque multum se Julianus sentiret expositum, impurgabile crimen excusari posse existimans, absque conscientia sua hominem affirmabat occisum.

the opinion of those who were most attached to him. On the other hand however, the World saw with pleasure justice inflicted on some notorious Informers. They were burnt alive: And yet their punishment was thought less than their crimes. As was that in particular of the Eunuch *Eusebius*, great Chamberlain, who from being the Slave of *Constantius* became his Master, and commanded him only to do what was ill.

* *Julian*, at his entrance into the Palace, had been struck with the multitude of useless Mouths with which it was filled. It was computed there were a thousand Officers of the Kitchen, as many Barbers and more Cup-bearers. As to Eunuchs it was impossible to number them. By giving a sum of money any person became an Officer and Pensioner to the Emperor, whose Palace served as a refuge to sloth, and whose revenues were exhausted, to nourish worthless wretches, who oppressed the People without serving the Prince. *Julian* having ordered a Barber to be brought to cut his hair, (for since he had been Emperor he had suffered his beard to grow) one presented himself to him so magnificently dressed, that this Prince said with an air of astonishment, *I did not want a Senator, but a Barber.* He questioned this Man, and found that his

Liban. Or. x. 292. Amm. l. xvii. 8. Socr. l. iii.
Zonar.

employment brought him in twenty rations of bread per day, and a provision for twenty horses, a large annual pension besides many presents. The Emperor judged from this example, that the Domestics of the Palace were a greater expence, than the subsistence of the Army. He dismissed them all, saying, that one Barber was sufficient for several Persons ; that having no Wife, nor any inclination to marry again, he had no need of Eunuchs, no more than he had of Cooks, since he only eat to supply the necessities of nature. Besides these kinds of Officers, he broke without distinction, according to *Ammianus*, all those who served in the Court of *Constantius*.

* This conduct gave occasion to very opposite judgments. It was generally thought, that *Julian* was too much of the Philosopher for a Prince ; that he knew not how to keep the just medium ; and that he ran into the extremes of simplicity, as his Predecessor had done of magnificence ; that he demean'd the Imperial Majesty, by depriving it of that exterior Pomp, which strikes the People and commands respect : And in fine, that a modesty thus misplaced was a refinement of pride worse than the luxury and vanity of *Constantius*. Others, who were but few, said that a Prince who knew how to govern, and was possessed of shining qualities

* Socrat. ubi supra.

ties, might, when he woud, lay aside such borrowed lustre; that he then only raised himself when he seem'd to trample upon grandeur; that his Subjects woud give him credit for the magnificence he deprived himself of, because he cou'd always procure it at their expence; and that of every vanity which a Prince cou'd be susceptible of, a Philosophic pride was the least blameable, since it conduced to the public good, and was at least an imitation of Virtue. But the Emperor's aversion against the Christian Religion, which the whole Court of *Constantius* professed, had likewise a great share in the Reformation of the Palace.

* The extinction of Christianity was *Julian's* great Design, to which he made all his other views subordinate. It was, as we have already said, the work to which he believed himself destined. If the project of restoring Idolatry, which was every day decaying, prompted him by reason of its singularity, he had still too much sense not to know of what delicacy the enterprize was. All the *Roman* power for three Centuries was disappointed here, and the Church from its origin had been inured to maintain itself against penal laws and bloody executions, which had had no other effect than to enrich it with fresh increase. He found, says *Libanius*, that nothing was to be gained by endeavouring to force the Conscience. For adds

adds the same author, speaking as a Pagan, but as a Man of sense, "It is not with false ideas of religion, as with diseases. The sick are sometimes cured, by using a salutary violence: But neither fire nor sword will ever make that appear true which is judged to be false. If the hand sacrifices, the heart disavows the act. The soul deplores the weakness of its body, and remains attach'd to the first object of its worship. 'Tis dissimulation, not a change. What follows from this? Those who have complied, go and implore forgiveness of the Party, they have but in appearance abandoned. They are pardoned an involuntary fault; and the others, who have resisted to torments, are honoured as Deities."

Julian by employing violence, woud have risqued something more than a fruitless experiment. In the innumerable multitude of Christians of all kinds and all Communions, which then covered the face of the Empire, woud he have found that boundless unrelenting patience, which the ancient Persecutors took the advantage of? All were not equally disposed to submit themselves to be sacrificed. A long peace without, and cruel divisions within, had extinguished or weakened in many the true spirit of the Gospel. The Arians in particular, who had ruled under Constantius, and who appear'd the

the most numerous Party, knew too well how to make others Martyrs, to be of a temper willingly to become so themselves. And though Julian had not been afraid to hazard his authority by declaring open war against us, he woud still have been restrained out of a concern for his reputation, which was his darling Idol. Some have thought that his nature was inclined to cruelty; but at least he was humane by principle. He shewed at proper and improper times a popular and entirely Republican behaviour; sometimes even to meanness.* It was making court to him, not to call him Lord, though it was not new to give this name to the Emperors. The Diadem seemed to be a burthen to him. He was frequently upon the point of quitting that mark of supreme Power. And perhaps they were not too bold who said, that if the *Romans* had then been capable of becoming free, he woud sometimes have re-established the Republic. 'Tis certain, the thing upon earth, he dreaded most, was to be esteemed a Tyrant. † In fine, he was sensible, that Paganism was disgraced by the cruelty, which had been exercised for its support, and that violence is at least a strong prejudice against the Party which makes use of it; because it is not natural for truth to constrain, or to make use

* Amm. L. xxii. 4. Jul. Misop. Lib. Or. 305.

† Sez. v. 17. & 4.

use of any arms but those of persuasion. He envied the first Christians, and those who were animated with their spirit, that sweetness and general benevolence to all Mankind, which had made the Gospel flourish in the midst of opposition. He could have wished that the Pagan Religion had, at least, endeavour'd to have copy'd the Air and the Manners of it, if it could not have reached the Life.

He thought therefore, that the only means of reconciling the dictates of Policy, the interests of his Glory and those of his Religion, with the design of destroying the very name of Christianity, was to proceed in a manner less odious than his Predecessors had done; and that whilst he employ'd all his power to restore the Pagan Worship to its former honour, he ought privately and without noise to exhaust his artifices in sapping the foundations of Christianity. Affecting not to punish the Christians directly as Christians, Julian undertook to pervert them by caresses and temporal advantages, by secret and uneasy vexations, and even by rigour, when it could be colour'd over with some foreign pretext. If by this method he did not entirely succeed in his design, 'tis pretended he was resolved to go to the last extremities, when the Christians shoud be reduced to a small number; * and when his

* Greg. N. Or. iv. 114. Or. iii. 93.

long patience might seem to have given him a right to make use of severity. He reserved his final stroke till he shoud be sure of completing by Force what he had begun by Address, and of leaving no Person in the World who shoud depreciate his Memory : But first he was willing to try all methods imaginable, which were not incompatible with the appearance of Equity, and the grimace of Toleration, so that he might not appear a Persecutor. Yet it is being so in effect, says *Socrates* judiciously (n), to disturb by any methods whatsoever those who are quiet, and give no disturbance to Society. This was *Julian's Plan*, a Plan according to the prudence of this World, not ill concerted. But *There is no counsel nor advice against the Lord*. It was not given even to this Apostle, to make trial of more than the first part of his Scheme ; God, who had so often defended his Truth against the fury of the roaring Lion, being then willing to make it triumph over the deceit only and subtilty of the Serpent.

* Before the death of *Constantius*, *Julian* had already permitted to the Pagans of *Greece*,

(n) Καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑπερβάλλοσαν ἐπὶ Διοκλητίου ὀμοτύπη ὑπερέβητο. Οὐ μὲν τάντη τοῦ διώκειν ἀπέχετο διώγμον δὲ λέγει τὰ ὀπισσοῦν τεράτην τοὺς θαυμάζοντας. *Socrat.* I. iii. c. 13,

* *Sozom.* I. v. 3. *Socrat.* I. iii. 11. *Lib. Or.* x. 291, &c. *Or. Conf.* 445. *Amm.* I. xiii. 5. *Theodoret.* I. iii. 6.

Greece, and the adjoining Provinces, the free exercise of their Religion. When he arrived at *Constantinople*, he commanded by a general Edict that the Temples shoud be opened, repaired, and rebuilt through the whole Empire, enjoining every City to renew their peculiar Feasts and Ceremonies. He assigned Revenues for the support of the Temples, the Pontiffs, and the Priests, and restored to the Ministers of the Gods those Honours, Exemptions and Prerogatives which they had been deprived of under *Constantine* and his Issue. Immediately all around was seen to flow the blood of Victims. The Cities and plain Fields were polluted with the smell of Sacrifices. The Diviners heretofore proscrib'd, appeared again with distinction. *Julian* himself prophan'd the new *Rome*, consecrated by its Founder to the true God, and till then exempt from the abominations of the Pagans, by reviving the worship of the Tutelar Deities of *Byzantium*. He dedicated a Temple to the Sun within the Palace, near his own apartment, or, to speak more properly, his Palace became but one spacious Temple, as likewise his Gardens. All the Gods had their Statues there, and Altars were to be seen in every Grove.

From the beginning of the Monarchy to the Conversion of *Constantine*, the quality of Sovereign Pontiff had been annexed to

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the supreme Power. The Christian Princes were far from looking upon themselves as the Heads of a Religion which they detested. * But the Idolaters obstinately persisted in giving them that Title in their Inscripti-
ons. Julian, on the contrary, had resumed it with Joy, and esteeming it no less than that of *Augustus*, as he governed the Empire by himself, he exercised also in person the functions of the Pagan Priesthood. † In the morning he offered a Victim to the Sun, to honour his return ; in the evening he bad adieu by a second Sacrifice. The same homage he paid to the Moon and the Stars during the night. He sacrificed also every day to some other God ; in his Palace, if his affairs confined him within ; in Public, at the celebration of any Feast. Then nothing could detain him ; he ran to the place of Solemnity : There was he to be seen prostrate before the Idol, kissing its feet, going to and fro with a solicitous and important air, hewing wood for the Altar, feeding the Fire, blowing it with his mouth even to loss of breath, slaughtering the Victim, searching its Entrails, prying for Futurity with an insatiate eye, and then, drawing out his hands dropping with Blood,

* See Tillemont Hist. of the Emp. Tom. iv. p. 139. and Pagi on the year 312.

† Liban. Or. Com. 245. 249. Greg. N. Or. iv. 121.

woud himself be at once the Sacrificer and the Attendants.

Amongst the Pagans, to whom he thus made himself a Spectacle, the People of sense coud scarce keep their gravity. But the Populace were charmed to find in the Prince their own Inclination for Trifles and Superstition. As to the rest, Julian obliged no one to join in his Sacrifices: * *Let them first appease the Gods, said he, who desire to be admitted to our holy Ceremonies. Let us be sure not to harbour a thought of admitting those to them who have not taken care to purify their hearts by fervent Prayer, and their souls by suitable Expiations. I will not suffer the Galileans (so he call'd the Christians) to be dragged to the Altars, nor the least wrong to be offered them. They are rather mad than wicked. Let us endeavour, if it is possible, to make them bear Reason, and to gain them by gentle Means; we ought not to hate, but to pity them. They are already but too unhappy by deceiving themselves in the most essential thing upon earth.*

† The insulting compassion and the railerries of the Emperor, his Exhortations, his Caresses and his Liberalities, unmasked a crowd of pretended Christians, who, having taken up Christianity only as they do a Fashion,

* Jul. Ep. iii.

† Greg. N. Or. iii. 53, 54. Lib. Or. x. 291. Socr. l. iii. c. 13. Asterius Or. iii.

shion, laid it aside with the same facility. Some out of decency waited for the first and second solicitation; others, without any reserve, made a merit of preventing the desires of a Prince, whose youth seemed to give them assurances of a splendid and solid Fortune. These vile Slaves of favour did not foresee, that God woud soon confound their wretched Policy, and that, in les than two years, they shoud fall into that disgrace, which they looked upon as the greatest of misfortunes. Such easy Conquests ought to have ministred little to Julian's pride: But his passion for making Proselytes rendered him less delicate. He loaded them with Honours and Dignities. Apostacy opened the way to every thing; it supplied the place of Merit; it covered past Faults, and entitled them to commit new ones. He made a law to exclude the Christians from the Government of Provinces, and from all Military Employments, saying they coud not in conscience fill those Posts, since the Gospel forbids them to draw the Sword. Most of those who were in Place submitted to the times: But in the midst of so universal Prevarication, there were some of all Ranks and Conditions, who with generous souls signalized their courage.

* *Jovian* and (o) *Valentinian* were the

most

• *Socr. ubi sup. Theod. l. iii. c. 16. Sozom. v. c. 17.*

(o) Some Authors join to *Valentinian*, *Valens* his

Brother,

and make *Valens* a different Person, and *Valentinian* his

successor, for *Valens* died before *Valentinian*.

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most distinguished. They both succeeded Julian, one after the other, and received even in this life a hundred-fold what they had lost for Jesus Christ. The first was then a Tribune. He quitted the Service without hesitation ; but Julian, notwithstanding that, standing in need of such an Officer, carried him into *Perisia*, and gave him an Employment there. The disgrace of the second seems to have preceeded the Law, which we have just now mentioned. Being Captain of a Company of Guards, he made no scruple to attend Julian to the Temples, and undoubtedly took care not to bear any part in the Acts of Religion. One day when the Emperor came in great ceremony to the Temple of Fortune, the Ministers of the Goddess, ranged on each side of the Porch, made the usual aspersions upon the Prince and his Train. A drop of the lustral water fell upon Valentinian's garment. The Captain of the Guards cry'd out, he was polluted by this impure water, and in the transport of a Military zeal, struck with his hand the Minister who had thrown it upon him. Valentinian was banished, and confined in a Fortress, from whence he was not delivered till the Reign of *Jovian*.

I shall

Brother, who was also Emperor. But the Persecution which this latter excited against the Orthodox, has rendered his Memory so odious, that the attachment which he testified for Christianity under Julian, has been almost generally forgot.

I shall join *Cæsarius* to these illustrious Confessors, tho' he did not perhaps quit the Court till long after. * He was of one of the best Families of *Cappadocia*, and brother to St. *Gregory Nazianzen*. Having acquired a great skill in Physic, he was come to the Capital, where he soon outshone the most celebrated Physicians. *Constantius* loaded him with Honours and Riches, rais'd him to the dignity of a Senator, and made him, as it is presumed, his first Physician. *Cæsarius* practised in the Court without fee, and with much success. His Talents were not bounded with his Profession. He was not a stranger to any Science, and was master of several. He had strong sense, an amiable modesty and frankness; a noble disinterested soul, full of compassion for misery. These qualities, valuable in themselves, were sanctified by a solid and practical Christianity. Tho' he was yet but a Catechumen, in the midst of an Arian and dissolute Court he had preserved a purity of Faith and innocence of Manners. *Julian* who passionately wished to retain him in his service, omitted nothing to induce him to change his Religion. He had even a kind of regular debate with him in presence of several Witnesses. I coud wish some lively pen, like that of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, from whom I borrow these particulars, had given

given us a detail of this Conference. On both sides were said sprightly, sensible, and interesting things. The Emperor had that advantage of Superiority, which a Sovereign has always over his Subject, even when the dispute seems to render them equal. *Cæsarius* defended the Truth, which knows no Superior. *Julian* fortified his Sophisms by caresses and magnificent offers, which to many woud have supplied the place of demonstrations. But *Cæsarius* arm'd by his Faith, despised the vain arts of Logic, and was not dazzled by the most alluring promises. He protested he was a Christian, and that he woud always continue so. The Emperor thus meeting in *Cæsarius* all the merit and zeal of *Gregory* his brother whom he had seen at *Athens*, coud not forbear giving both an encomium, whilst he deplored their pretended obstinacy. He cry'd out before all the Court : *Happy Father ! unhappy Children !* He did not dismiss *Cæsarius* from Court, not despairing but sooner or later he might gain him. Who however banished himself, and retired to his Family.

* The Orthodox were not the only persons who testified their Constancy. *Maris*, Bishop of *Chalcedon*, one of the principal Arians, blind and bent beneath the weight of years, got himself conducted to the Temple of Fortune, when *Julian* was sacrificing

* Socr. I. iii. c. 12. Sozom. I. v. c. 4.

criscing there, and charg'd him publicly with Impiety in the severest terms. *Julian* called him blind, and said to him with a satirical Air: *Thy God the Galilean will not restore thee thy eyes. I thank him*, returned the Bishop, *for sparing me the sorrow of seeing such an Apostate as thou art.* The Emperor gave no reply, making a vain parade of heroic patience, which he amply satisfied himself for afterwards, when he caus'd this Bishop to be severely punish'd. But at that Time *Julian* was resolved by visible marks of Gentleness and Clemency to raise the astonishment of the Christians, who, when they saw him ascend the Throne, had imagined within themselves, as † *Libanius* confesses, that he woud renew the dreadful Tragedies of the *Maximians* and *Diocletians*, and even exceed their Cruelties.

* He recalled the Orthodox Bishops, and those of the persecuted Sects, who had been banish'd under *Constantius*, and restored to them their confiscated goods. He permitted them to return into their respective Countries, without mentioning their Churches, doubtless to reserve to himself a pretext, for disturbing those he thought proper, (and we see he made use of it to banish St. *Athanasius*;) but his intention was, that they shoud

† Lib. or. x. 290.

* Sozom. l. v. c. 5. Jul. Ep. xxvi. Amm. l. xxii. c. 5.

shoud all take possession of their Sees again. By this Repeal he hoped to oppose his moderation to the want of Toleration in his Predecessor, and to mortify the *Arians*, an imperious and persecuting Sect, whom he hated even more than the other Christians, because they had been caressed by *Constantius*: and what touched him still nearer, he hoped by this to hasten the ruin of our Religion. As he judged of it solely upon the footing of a human establishment, he flattered himself, that by holding the ballance even between the Orthodox and the *Arians*, he shoud keep up an implacable war between those two powerful Communions; and that instead of re-uniting against the common Enemy, they woud labour mutually for each others destruction; that the other parties which already subsisted, or which shoud be formed by favour of this liberty, woud augment the confusion; that Christianity, torn to pieces by its own hands, woud sink into disregard, its Morals woud be corrupted, and the World at length disgusted with it woud return to Paganism. With these views, (p) he frequently sent for Bishops and Laics

H

who

(p) Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum Antistites, cum Plebe discissa, in Palatium intromissos monebat civilius, ut, discordiis consopitis, quisque nullo vetante Religioni suæ serviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut, dissensiones augente licentia, non timeret unanimam postea plebem:

who were divided upon points of Doctrine, into his Palace, and exhorted them to terminate their differences amicably, that they might follow their Religion in peace and liberty. He made them confer in his presence, acting the part of an Arbitrator and Moderator: and as these Conferences frequently degenerated into warm disputes, he woud cry out to them, *Give ear to me, as the Franks and Germans have often done.* This dangerous Pacifier woud have been extremely sorry to have been taken at his Word. The union of the Christians woud have made him tremble. He looked upon their discords as the sole resource of Paganism; for having been a witness of the *Arian* Persecution, he knew, says *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that the wild Beasts are less furious against Mankind, than the generality of Christians against those Christians who think differently from them.

*Plebem: nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt
sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus: sape-
que dictabat, Audite me, quem Alemanni audierunt
et Franci. Amm. xxii. 5.*

THE

THE LIFE OF JULIAN

The APOSTATE.

BOOK the Fourth.

WHILST Julian thus began to re-establish Hellenism, i. e. the Greek Religion (for this name was given to Idolatry, and to the Pagans that of Hellenists or Greeks) the Calends of January, arrived. It was customary for the Consuls who then entered into their Office, to wait upon the Emperor at his Palace, who accompanied them afterwards to the Senate.

* *Mamertinus and Nevitta came at day-break, fearing least the Emperor shoud prevent them. He ran to meet them; and making way*

H 2 through

* *Mamert. Paneg. Amm. l. xxii. c. 7. Liban. or. x. p. 298, 299. Socr. l. iii. c. 1. Amm. ubi sup. Jul. Ep. xv.*

through the crowd of People that surrounded them, he embraced them and saluted them, in the most respectful terms. He made their Litters advance into the inmost Court of the Palace, forced them to ascend them again in his presence, and joining amongst the throng of their Friends and Clients, attended them on foot to the Senate, where *Mamertinus* pronounced the Panegyric, which we have still remaining. Two days after the same Consul exhibiting the Sports of the *Circus* to the People, the Slaves were brought, who, according to antient custom, were to be then solemnly set at liberty. *Julian*, who was present, enfranchised them. Upon which some advertising him, that this function belonged to the Consul, he instantly condemned himself to pay ten Pounds of Gold ; the fine imposed by the laws upon every Magistrate, who interfered in another's Jurisdiction.

Constantius had treated the Senate with haughtiness. He sent for the Senators not to consult them, but precisely to declare to them his Will. He never made them sit, and never went to their Assemblies. *Julian* on the contrary, repaired thither assiduously, woud have every one vote with full liberty ; and as he had a talent and an inclination for haranguing, he spoke upon affairs as they arose, sometimes with the conciseness and gravity of a Prince, sometimes with the

copi-

copiousness and energy of an Orator, exercising himself with success in the several kinds of Eloquence. He passed the nights in composing his discourses. He was the first and last Emperor since *Julius Cæsar*, who used to make speeches in the Senate. One day when he was in the middle of an harangue (a), he was informed of the arrival of *Maximus*. In a moment he leaps from his seat (b), and runs with impetuosity to meet this Philosopher, who was still at a considerable distance; embraces him with a thousand demonstrations of tenderness, and conducts him to the Senate, tho' he was not a Senator. But *Julian* believed himself indebted to him for the Empire, and coud not bear the want of his counsels. Whilst he was yet in *Gaul*, he had frequently invited him to repair to him. *Write to me*, says he, in a Letter of which it woud be difficult to fix the date: *But write to me continually, or rather come and join me. Know that, during your absence, I live only while I am reading your Letters.* He was no sooner Emperor, than he immediately dispatch'd an

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(a) Λεγοντος δυτ. Liban.
 (b) Exsulit indecorè: et, qui esset oblitus, effuso
 curso à vestibulo longè progressus, exosculatum sus-
 ceptumque reverenter secum induxit; per ostentati-
 onem intempestivam nimius captator inanis gloriæ.

Amm.

an honourable escort to bring him to Court.

* *Maximus* was then at *Sardis*, the Capital of *Lydia*, with *Chrysanthius* that other Disciple of *Adesius* whom we have already mentioned. The Letter of Invitation being jointly to them both, they employ'd the mysteries of Theurgy to know whether they shoud undertake the Journey. Having proceeded in the Operation with all possible regularity and circumspection, they perceiv'd the most terrifying signs, and these signs were so evident, says *Eunapius*, that the meanest of the populace woud have comprehended them. *Chrysanthius*'s countenance changed, and he was in a consternation. Dear friend, said he to *Maximus*, I ought not only to remain here, but to conceal myself in the bowels of the Earth. *Maximus* recovering himself, reply'd, " *Chrysanthius*, you are no longer what you were. Have you forgot our great Principles? Hellenists so perfect as we are, ought not to depend upon the first Signs that present themselves. We must do violence to the Gods, and force them to will what we desire. " You may perhaps be bold enough to attempt this; and experienced enough to succeed in it, returned *Chrysanthius*: as to me,

* *Eunap.* V. *Maximi.* p. 77. & seqq. *Idem.* V. *Chrysanthii.* pag. 147. & seqq.

" I find their will too plainly expressed ;
 " I dare not presume to resist it." Having
 spoke thus, he quitted *Maximus*, who was
 not so easily discouraged, and persisted in
 tiring his Gods, till he imagined he receiv-
 ed answers from them favourable to his Ambi-
 tion. But these solicited Presages, and
 extorted by importunities, made no impres-
 sion upon *Chrysanthius*. He suffer'd *Maxi-
 mus* to depart, and remained afterwards
 constantly immoveable, notwithstanding *Ju-
 lian's* reiterated caresses. This Prince per-
 ceiving that the Letters he wrote to *Chry-
 santhius* and *Melita* his Wife, were in vain,
 pressed him no further : he satisfied himself
 with creating him Sovereign Pontiff of *Ly-
 dia*, and *Melita* High-Priestess (c). But
 whether this Philosopher had effectually dis-
 covered, by the means of Theurgy, as *Eu-
 napius* pretends, that Christianity woud soon
 re-ascend the Throne, or that at all events
 he thought it more secure to keep well
 with the Christians ; he did not suffer him-
 self to be hurried away with the unbridled
 zeal of so many others, who soon after
 repented they had not imitated his Policy.
Chrysanthius used the power his Dignity
 gave him with so much moderation, that
 scarce any change was perceived in the
 Province with regard to Religion, either
 during the life, or after the death of *Ju-
 lian*. H. 4. *Maximus's*

(c) *Melita* was cousin to *Eunapius*.

Maximus's Departure put all *Asia* in motion. The Magistrates and Persons of greatest Distinction crowded with the Populace to pay their homage to this new Favourite. When he entered into a City, the streets and public Places were so crowded, it was scarce possible to press through. They lavished profusely on him Applauses, Acclamations, and every thing that was usual in a solemn Reception. Whilst the Men paid their compliments to *Maximus*, the Wife of this Philosopher received the visits of the Women who came by a private door to make their court to her. They congratulated her on her happiness, and conjured her to condescend to remember them. In a word, from *Sardis* to *Constantinople*, the Journey of *Maximus* was a continued Triumph.

* *Maximus* appeared at *Constantinople* with eclat. He never quitted *Julian*, and both together passed the days and nights in consulting the Gods. He governed the Emperor and the Empire; but his pretended Philosophy cou'd not keep upright under such a load of favours. He soon affected an air of haughtiness, and too studied a dress. *Julian* alone did not perceive an alteration, which shock'd even the Pagans. It was at the solicitation of *Maximus*,

*Eunap. V. Max. 79. & seqq. Chrys. V. 140. & seqq.
V. Prisci. 91. & seqq. Liban. de vita sua, 52.

that the Emperor sent for another Platonist out of *Greece*, named *Priscus*, sprung from the same School. He was a Man reserv'd and mysterious in what he knew, even to representing them as lavish and profane who loved to communicate their Learning. But when he condescended to display himself, he discovered a profound knowledge of the Systems of the Ancients. The Court did not corrupt him, and far from becoming himself a Courtier, he endeavoured to render the Courtiers Philosophers.

The Event shew'd that *Chrysanthius* had acted the most rational part. Under the Reign of *Valens*, *Maximus* and *Priscus* were called in question. The Innocence of the latter was immediately acknowledged. But the former was ordered to refund immense sums, which he was accused of having pillaged. He languished long in Prison, where he suffered, according to *Eunapius*, the most cruel outrages and torments. His Wife, of whom the same Historian gives the highest elogy, even so far as to say, that she was infinitely more learned, and more a Philosopher, than her Husband, was the witness of his misery. He one day entreated her to go and buy him poison. She did so, and prepared the draught. When *Maximus* demanded it, she drank of it herself and dy'd. *Maximus* thought proper to survive her, and was soon after set at liberty. He ap-

peared again in the World with some credit. But having been involved in an Affair of Magic, the Proconsul of Asia named *Festus*, did not allow him to die of a disease from which he could not have recovered, but caus'd him to be beheaded at *Ephesus*. Such was the end of this pernicious Man who ought to be consider'd as the principal Author of *Julian's Apostacy*.

* This Prince continually wrote to all the Philosophers whom he knew by report or otherwise, Letters full of obliging reproaches (2), for their delaying to come to him. They crowded from all Parts with high ideas of their Fortune. The Emperor caress'd them, entertained them at his own table, drank their healths, called them his Companions. But this reception was frequently no more than a Farce. Several,

* Greg. N. Or. iv. 120, 121. Eunap. V. M. 81. Socrat. l. iii. c. 1.

(d) St. *Basil* is usually reckoned amongst the learned Men whom *Julian* invited to his Court: and 'tis added, that this Saint rejected the Emperor's offers. Accordingly amongst the Letters of this Prince we find a pressing invitation, addressed to one named *Basil*, whom *Julian* seems to value extremely. But the name of *Basil* was not uncommon; and in the whole piece there is not a Word which induces us to believe it addressed to *Basil the Great*. As to the Letters of *Julian* to St. *Basil*, and from St. *Basil* to *Julian*, which are printed with the works of that Father, they are unworthy of either of them, both as to Style, and the Matter they contain. Their spuriousness is visible at the first Glance. Therefore I have made no use of them.

when they imagined themselves at the height of favour, saw themselves dismissed on a sudden, without knowing which they shoud most lament their own credulity, or the Emperor's caprice. Others more successful were raised to Posts, or remain'd in the Train of Julian, whom they intoxicated with their flatteries, and who himself in return flattered them. They made use of the authority of his commendations to be incessantly upon the Theme of their own praises. Most of them had nothing of the Philosopher but the Beard and the Habit, nor any other merit but an implacable hatred against the Christians.

* 'Tis not to be doubted, but their Councils had an influence on the Persecution; and in particular on the design which the Emperor formed, to condemn the Christians to utter ignorance, by preventing them from studying or teaching the *Grecian Sciences*. The Plot of making all Literature center within the verge of Paganism, and possessing, exclusively of those who were not of their own Religion, all Wit and Purity of Language, was a Scheme worthy of a Cabal of Sophists and Pedants, who found themselves eclipsed by St. *Basil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Diodorus of Tarsus*, the

two two
Greg. N. or. iii. 96, 97. &c. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 18. Sozom. l. v. c. 18. Socr. l. iii. c. 1. Rufin. c. 18. Aug. de civitate Dei, l. xviii. c. 52.

two *Apollinaris*'s and some others. *Julian*, naturally open to this kind of Jealousy, was yet more affected by the use which the Christians made of the study of Antiquity, Eloquence, and Logic, in order to refute Error and establish Truth. Our own Authors, said he (e), are turned upon us: Shall we suffer ourselves to be stabbed with our own Swords. He made therefore a Law, by which, after having endeavoured to represent, as a scandalous duplicity, and a Traffic contrary to common decency, the conduct of those who made it their Profession to explain *Homēr*, *Dēmōsthenēs*, and the other Ancients, whose Religion they disapproved; he gives them their Choice to adore the same Gods, Or to content themselves, says he, with explaining *Luke* and *Matthew* in the Churches of the Galileans. He adds, That he does not forbid the entrance of the Schools to those who desire to frequent them, because it woud not be reasonable to bar the right way against (f) young Men uncertain of the path they

(e) Τοῖς ὀμείοις γὰρ, Φιλοί, τετροῖς, κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν, βαλλέσθε, κ. τ. λ. Theodoret.

(f) From the words of the Edict and some equivocal or negative Testimonies, some able modern Writers have imagined, that *Julian* did not forbid the Christians from frequenting the Schools, but only from teaching in them. This Opinion the judicious Mons. *Tillemont* has solidly confuted. See his Mem. Eccles. Tom. vii. 3. Note on *Julian*'s Persecution. Among the Arts from the exercise of which *Julian* excluded the

they ought to chuse, or to constrain them by terror to follow the Religion of their Ancestors. But by these young Men uncertain of the path they ought to chuse, we must understand those who were perfectly undetermined, and who professed neither Christianity nor Idolatry : or else we must suppose that Julian made another Law to forbid the Christians Learning in general. Nothing is better attested in History than this prohibition. We know the motives he alledged for it, not daring perhaps to declare the true ones. *It belongs to the Greeks only to speak the Grecian Language with Purity*, said he, perverting the double signification of the word *Hellenes*, which denoted both *Pagans* and *Greeks*. The Galileans, who *lay it down as a principle to believe implicitly, ought to keep themselves in the ignorance, and barbarism of their origin*. But the Followers of this barbarous and rustic doctrine, as he called it, cultivated in their Society all the several Virtues, and supported them by a prudent Discipline : so that the contrast of their Morals to those the Christians, St. *Cyprian* [Hom. 40.] mentions that of Phyfic. Which proves that this Emperorextended his Prohibitions to other things besides those mentioned in the Law now remaining. Besides *Ammianus*, though an Idolater, censures severely Julian's Conduct, l. xxii. c. 16. & xxv. 4: But his Words are ambiguous, and the Historian, as M. *Tillemont* observes, might express himself in this manner, to spare a little Julian's Memory.

those of the Idolaters sunk the credit of Hellenism more than Julian with all his power could raise it.

* He was conscious of this ; and seeing that it was of small consequence to rebuild Temples, he projected to oppose Virtue to Virtue, and Discipline to Discipline. No person had yet thought of setting up for a Reformer of a Religion, in which Morality had always been a stranger, and appropriated to the Province of Philosophy ; of a Religion, I say, devoid of all motives to Goodness, full of examples of Vice ; the letter of which was scandalous, and the allegories feigned, arbitrary, and forced. It was endeavouring to make folly wear the garb of wisdom. Yet he began to execute this design in a reasonable manner. For, as in all Religions the fervour or remissness of the People have their principal source in the good or bad examples of those who are the Ministers of it, he established as a foundation of his Reformation that of the Pontiffs and the Priests. These are some of the Regulations which he made upon that subject, or rather that he endeavour'd to steal from the Christians.

None, says he, are to be rais'd to the Priesthood but the best Men in each City. In the choice no regard shall be

had
■ Greg. N. on. iii. 101. & seqq. Sozom. l. vi.
c. 16.

“ had to birth or riches. The essential
“ qualities only shall be sought for, which
“ are the love of the Gods and of Mankind.
“ We shall know that he whom we design
“ to choose loves the Gods, if he imprints
“ the same love on all who surround him.
“ He loves Mankind, if he endeavours to
“ do good to all ; if he gives cheerfully
“ even out of his indigence. A Priest ought
“ to serve the Gods as one continually in
“ the presence and under the eyes of them,
“ who penetrate the inmost heart. His
“ life ought to be a continual instruction,
“ and the proof of what he teaches. 'Tis
“ to little purpose to abstain from scanda-
“ lous actions : his tongue and his ears
“ ought to be upon their guard against e-
“ very thing that is an offence to mo-
“ desty. He ought to banish all indecent
“ raillery and libertine discourse. Let him
“ not go either to Taverns or to any Pub-
“ lic Show. Let the doors of his house
“ be closed against all Dancers, Panto-
“ mimes, and those who drive the Chariots
“ in the Circus. The only study which is
“ suitable to his Condition is Philosophy,
“ not that of the *Epicureans* and *Pyrrho-
“ nians*, of which, thanks to the Gods,
“ most of the books are lost ; but that
“ Philosophy which lays it down as a prin-
“ ciple, that there are Gods ; that they
“ take care of human affairs ; that they
“ are

“ are neither malevolent, nor jealous, nor
“ subject to those passions which the Poets,
“ to their own dishonour, have attributed
“ to them. History may also be read by
“ them, but not those dangerous fictions,
“ which turn upon intrigues of love. A
“ Man consecrated to the Gods cannot
“ watch too narrowly over his thoughts.
“ He is obliged to learn the Divine Hymns,
“ which have been composed by Inspiration,
“ and to pray frequently every day, as
“ well in public as in private. It would be
“ proper that he shoud daily offer Sacrifice.
“ In the public Sacrifices he must make
“ no Innovations, but keep scrupulously up
“ to the ancient Rites. When the Priests
“ are in waiting in the Temples, they ought
“ to live with still greater purity ; to re-
“ main in the sacred Enclosure the appoint-
“ ed number of days ; to practise every
“ night the commanded Purifications ; to
“ meditate upon wisdom ; and to provide
“ everything that concerns the Divine Wor-
“ ship. When they return to common life,
“ they may see their friends, and resort
“ to feasts, on condition it is with persons
“ distinguished for their Virtue. They may
“ appear in public Places, but not fre-
“ quently, see the Governors and the Ma-
“ gistrates, but it must be to mediate in
“ favour of the Unhappy. It is proper that
“ they shoud be cloathed magnificently in
“ the

" the Temple ; in all other places plainly.
" Let them be careful to instruct the Peo-
" ple in the obligation of giving Alms ;
" for it is scandalous that the *Galileans*
" shoud support their own Poor and ours.
" The Priests that are unworthy shall be
" deposed ; but whilst they are in Place,
" must be respected be they what they will."

'Tis thus that *Julian* expresses himself in the long fragment, which is left us of a Letter which he wrote to a Pontiff, and in another Letter address'd to the High Priest of *Galatia* named *Arsacius*. We have still some lines of a third, by which, in quality of Sovereign Pontiff, he suspends for three months a Priest, who had committed a fault. He was resolv'd to introduce into the Temples, Instructions at set times upon Mysteries and morality ; forms of Prayers, to be recited by two Choirs for certain hours and certain days ; the discipline of Penance ; in a word, the whole Polity of the Church. 'Tis said that, of our ancient customs, he admir'd none more, than that of the Ecclesiastic Letters, by favour of which every Christian was received as a brother, and his expences defray'd into whatsoever part of the World he went, if Christians were there. *Julian* also designed to have founded Monasteries of both Sexes, and especially Hospitals. For he was forced to allow, that nothing had given more advantage and luſtre

tre to Christianity, than Hospitality and the care of the Poor ; duties so much neglected by the Pagans, that we may easily judge how much more other Virtues were so, which are less affecting and less natural. All these projects vanished at the death of Julian. The Pagans had not time to go through the exercise of counterfeiting the Christian Virtues. The Copy could never have come up to the Original. And though it had born some faint resemblance, it woud still have been but a Copy. Neither had the Christians time to sink into ignorance. But Christianity had stood its trial. It was established without the assistance of profane Literature : and experience ought to have been a convincing proof, that it could equally subsist without it, or sanctify the use of it.

* Amongst the Professors who shut up their Schools upon occasion of Julian's Edict, the Sophist *Prohaeresius* is distinguished, who taught at *Athens*, and whose reputation extended over the whole Empire. The City of *Rome* had rais'd a Statue to him as big as the Life, with this inscription : THE QUEEN OF CITIES TO THE KING OF ORATORS. He had received from the Emperor *Constans*, brother of *Constantius*, the

(b) hono-

* Eunap. V. Prohaeres. p. 123. 126. Hieronymi Chronic. Suidas. Sozom. I. vi. c. 18.

(g) honorary title of General of the *Roman Armies*. *Julian*, who esteemed his probity (b) and compared his Eloquence to that of *Pericles*, that *Athenian* so celebrated in the History of ancient *Greece*, exempted him, 'tis said, from the general Law, and permitted him to preserve his School without changing his Religion. *Probæresius* had the delicacy not to make use of a privilege which might have rendered his Faith suspected. *Eunapius* an admirer and a Disciple of this Sophist, but a great Enemy to the Christians, relates the fact differently. He says, that *Probæresius* having no longer the liberty to teach, because he was supposed to be a Christian (i) desired a Pontiff, who, doubtless, must be that of *Eleusinia*, to consult the Gods, to know whether the prosperity of the *Greeks* woud be of long duration. The Pontiff reply'd, that they must not flatter themselves it woud, which made *Probæresius* remain quiet, in expectation of a speedy revolution. *Julian* to mortify him after this, affected to place him below *Libanius*, tho' many Connoisseurs appealed from this judgment of the Emperor even in his own presence. 'Tis related that this

Prince

(g) Προσέθυκε τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀξιωμάτων σρατοπεδάρχην ἐπιτρέψας; καλεῖσθαι.

(b) Τί δὲ οὐκ ἔπειλον ἐγώ Προσφέργιον τὸν καλὸν προσδιορίσειν, καὶ τ. λ. Jul. Ep. ii. ad *Probæresi*.

(i) Τόπων τοῦ παιδεύειν ἔξειργομενος, εδόκει γάρ εἰ ναι χρήσινδος, *Eunap.*

Prince sent to the most illustrious amongst the Bishops the work of *Diodorus of Tarsus*, composed in favour of the Christian Religion, and that he sent with it these three words: (k) I have read, understood, condemned. Some body, 'tis said St. *Basil*, answered him in the same style: (l) You have read, but you have not understood; for if you had understood, you woud not have condemned. These were the preliminaries of a Persecution, which became daily more apparent. I shall collect together the principal instances of it, without confining myself to the order of time.

* There was paid to the representations of the Emperors, as well as to their persons, a Homage which was called Adoration. This was not a Religious worship; and the Christians without difficulty submitted to it. *Julian* who made every thing subservient to the interests of Paganism, caused himself to be represented with his Gods. In one of his pictures, for example, *Jupiter* issuing out of a cloud offered him the Diadem and the Purple Robe: and *Mars* and *Mercury* looked upon the Prince with complacency, and seemed to applaud his eloquence and valour. The Christians were thus under the unhappy alternative of appearing either to

adore

(k) Ανέγνω, ἔγνω, κατέγνω.

(l) Ανέγνως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγνως. εἰ γὰρ ἔγνως, οὐκ ἀνέγνως.

* Greg. N. Or, iii. p. 83, & 84. Sozom. l. v. c. 17.

adore the Gods, or to fail in their respect to the Emperor. These representations being exposed to public veneration, the People, without reflecting upon their dangerous concomitants, paid them the usual honours: and Julian was pleas'd with himself for having thus insensibly familiarised them to Idols. Those who had penetration enough to perceive the snare, and so much conscience as to refuse to give into it, were treated as Rebels, and punished as guilty of Treason.

* Julian employed an Artifice not much unlike this to make those Soldiers guilty of Idolatry or disobedience, who had not been seduced by his example. He had taken out of the principal of the Standards, called the *Labarum* (m) the Monogram of *Jesus Christ*, which had been placed there from the time of *Constantine*. He was not satisfied with re-establishing the *Labarum* in its first form; he had also put in the other Standards the figures of some of the Gods. To take advantage of this alteration, one day when he was to distribute gold amongst his Troops he appeared seated upon his Tribunal, surrounded by his profane Standards, with

* Greg. N. ibid. p. 99 & seq. Sozem. ib. Theodoret. L. iii. c. 15, 16.

(m) The etymology of the word *Labarum* or *Labrum* is unknown. The monogram of *Christ*, is a cypher or a single character formed of two Greek Letters x and p. 'Tis the abridgment of *XPICTOC*. Julian replaced in the Standards the antient Latin letters S. P. Q. R.

burning coals and incense placed by his side, Every Soldier came in his turn to kiss the Emperor's hand, and receive his donative; but he was first obliged to throw some grains of incense into the fire. There were some, according to *Sozomen*, who refused openly to buy at this price the bounty which was to be given them. Others being apprised of the thing in time, feigned sickness, and kept away. The generality, dazzled with the lustre of the gold, and awed by the Emperor's presence, had not the courage to retreat, and contracted a fatal engagement, which they afterwards durst not break. Several, by an excess of innocence and simplicity, frankly believed what was told them by those placed there on purpose, that this fire and incense was an ancient Ceremonial now renew'd, and of no consequence to Religion.

Some of them who had been thus deceived, being seated at table, invoked according to the usual custom the name of *Jesus Christ*, and made the Sign of the Cross over their cups before they drank. Their fellow Soldiers told them, They thought it surprising to hear them invoke him whom they had so lately renounced. These words open'd their eyes. Pierced with the most lively sorrow, they tore their hair, and running to the public square, protested before heaven and earth, that they were Christians: that they

they had been ensnared, but that their souls were not Accomplices in the treachery of their hands. They entered the Palace, continued the same language to Julian, and conjured him to wash away in their blood the crime he had occasioned them to commit. They threw him back his gold, exhorting the other Soldiers to do the like. The Emperor in his first emotion commanded them to be led to execution ; but seeing that they woud be honoured as Martyrs, he gave them their lives, and banished them to the most distant Parts of the Empire.

* Julian deprived the Ecclesiastics of those Immunities, which Constantine and his Sons had granted to them ; and took from the Churches the Revenues which those Princes had assigned for the subsistence of the Clergy and the Poor. He ordered that those who had lived upon these pious liberalities shoud restore what they had receiv'd. Neither Widows nor Virgins were safe from these odious prosecutions. Those who had born a part in the destruction of the Temples were condemned to rebuild them, or else to pay the damage. An infinite number of People, Bishops, Clergy and Laity, were found guilty of this pretended crime ; and being neither able nor willing to compensate it, were put to most dreadful tortures, and thrown

* Sozem. l. v. c. 5. Greg. N. or. iii. 86. 87. Jul. Ep. xxiii.

thrown into Prisons, from whence it seemed impossible they shoud be delivered, but by death, which was refused them, or by Apostacy, which, to a Christian, is more terrible than death itself: So that if this Persecution was not so general as the preceding ones, it might however in some regard be esteemed more cruel. If less blood was shed, the patience of the persecuted was exposed to longer trials. They endeavoured to rob them of the consolation and glory of suffering as Christians. They put the Ministers of the Churches upon the rack, to force them to discover the treasures and the sacred vessels. For the Emperor seized upon them whenever he found a pretext; and the Christians, according to his intentions, abusing the liberty which he had left them for a snare, sometimes furnished him with such as was plausible. *Their admirable Law, says he, promises to the Poor the Kingdom of Heaven; 'tis but just to help them forward in their way to it. Poverty will render them wise in this world, and make them reign in the other.*

* Some of them, animated by an excess of zeal, threw down the Altars, broke the Statues, overthrew the preparations for the Sacrifices, and destroy'd even the Temples themselves, without considering that the Times and the Laws were chang'd; and

nowards

that

* Soer. I. iii. c. 25. Sozom. I. v. c. 11. Greg. N. or. iv. Acta S. Basil. Anc. apud Ruinart.

that what was lawful under *Constantius*, was an enterprize under *Julian* against Public order and the established Religion, which we are always forbid to attack by violent methods. Others in the midst of the Pagan feasts declaim'd against the Gods, in bold discourses which never failed to be blackened into crimes against the State. They perished in torments. Their constancy in enduring them, though they might have preserved themselves by renouncing the Faith, terrified the Persecutors, and rectified what was irregular in the conduct of those Martyrs.

* In many places, especially in the East, where the imagination is heated by the Climate, the Pagans elated with their present fortune publicly insulted the Christians; who on their side remembering less the precepts of the Gospel, than their former prosperity, returned reproach for reproach, and insult for insult. From words they came to blows, and from blows to Sedition. Several Christians were left dead or wounded upon the spot. The Churches were pillaged, burnt, demolished or profaned; the monuments of the Saints overthrown, their bones cast into the fire, with those of Animals, and their ashes dispersed to the winds. The Idolaters of *Palestine* and *Phoenicia* committed

* Theodoret. l. iii. 6, 7. Greg. N. Or. iii. Sozom. l. v. c. 9.

cruelties, which are scarce to be believed, even upon the credit of original Authors, if we were not otherwise sensible what the irritated Populace are capable of, when their zeal for Religion is wrought up to distraction, and stifles every sentiment of humanity. They opened the bodies of the Priests and Virgins ; and throwing barley upon their entrails, took a horrid pleasure in causing them to be devoured by the Animals who feed upon that kind of grain. At *Heliopolis*, a City situate at the foot of *Libanus*, men were seen to gnaw the entrails of the sacred Virgins, to tear out the liver of a Deacon named *Cyril*, and eat of it publicly. The detail of these horrors may be read in the Ecclesiastical Historians. But I ought not to omit what they attest, that Divine vengeance soon display'd itself upon these Monsters. Their teeth fell out all at once, their tongues and their eyes rotted away. They dy'd after having suffered a thousand deaths, and testified by a tedious and painful punishment, that there is a God the protector of Christianity and Humanity.

* Julian surrounded by Pagans might be ignorant of part of their fury, but the other part he excused on account of the zeal and good intentions of those who exceeded his orders. Sometimes he even became their Apologist. The Inhabitants of *Gaza* in *Paphlagonia* had a *Leptine* Apologist.

* Greg. N. *Sozom.* ubi sup. *Socr.* I. iii. c. 14.

leſſine had torn to pieces some Christians, and exercised upon the remains of their bodies the same barbarities, which in other places were practised upon the Relics of the Martyrs. The Governor of the Province was one of those Men who are in suspense between their duty and fortune, who wish to ally them together; and under a Reign of injustice think, by running great lengths in what is ill, that they acquire a right of doing some little good with impunity. He had sent to Prison a small number of the most seditious Pagans, after having condemned to death several of the Christians. The Citizens of Gaza, which expected the most severe chastisements from the Emperor, were agreeably surprised, when they learnt that the Governor was disgraced and banished for having abused the Pagans. *Ought you, said Julian to him, to have imprisoned the Greeks for having revenged themselves of some Galileans, who had so frequently insulted their persons and their Gods?* Thus he stript himself of the title of Common Father, and armed his Subjects against each other, at the hazard of shaking the whole Empire. When the Christians represented to him the vexations to which they were exposed; *Have you any reason to complain?* reply'd he to them: *To suffer is every Christian's calling:* thus rendering fruitless by bitter railleries, and a denial of justice, the general prohibitions he had made against

Persecution

Persecution and constraint. Indeed a Prince's intentions are always better executed than his Laws ; and it is not by a language of form that his inclinations are known, but by certain strokes that spring from the heart.

* Yet upon other accidents he felt the inconvenience of a too visible partiality, and found himself obliged to repress the Pagans. The City of *Alexandria* was the most seditious of the whole Empire : its Inhabitants united in the highest degree the inconstancy of the *Greeks* with the rashness and cruelty of the *Africans*. They were frequently engaged in actions against each other even without knowing for what reason. A trifle less than nothing was sufficient to excite in this great City convulsive motions capable of overthrowing it. The public Places in an instant became so many Fields of battle ; blood ran in the streets, and flames flew on all sides.

Artemius (n) Duke of *Egypt* (the name of Duke was then given to those who commanded the Troops of a Province) was accused of having acted like a Tyrant. He had, 'tis said, cruelly treated the Catholics under the direction of *George*, the Arian Bishop of *Alexandria*. But his unpardonable crime in *Julian*'s eyes was, his having broken the

Idols

* Amm. l. xxii. c. 11. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 285. Jul. Ep. x.

(n) The deaths of *Artemius* and *George* did not happen till *Julian* was at *Antioch*.

Idols, and pillaged the Temples. Upon his departure to the Emperor, he had threatened the *Alexandrians* his Accusers, that, if he ever returned to *Egypt*, he woud make them repent of the affair which they had spirited up against him. But when it was known that *Julian* had condemned him to death, the Pagans turn'd their fury against *George*.

He was one of the very scum of the People, at first a Parasite, afterwards employ'd in the Imperial farms, where he sunk the money which came into his hands ; at length after many adventures, he was judg'd worthy by the Arian Cabal of occupying the second See of the Church. * He had neither the Episcopal virtues, nor any other kind of merit. But he was bold, enterprising, without shame or compassion, and the *Arians* sought more for a Persecutor than a Bishop. When he was in Place, his pomp, his cruelty, and his rapaciousness woud have made him thought to be a Pagan, if he had not pillaged the Temples. For all his Christianity consisted in this lucrative devotion. The *Catholics* detested him as a blood-thirsty Enemy ; the Pagans as the destroyer of their Gods ; and the whole world as a Tax-gatherer, an Oppressor, and a Robber. *Egypt* trembled before him. Those in employ-

* Amm. ib. Athanas. ad solit. Greg. N. or. xxi. p. 382. Epiph. hæresi. 76. c. 1. Socrat. 1. iii. c. 10. Sozom. 1. v. c. 7.

ment were obliged to submit to be ministers of his Tyranny, lest they shoud be the victims of it. Not satisfied with invading inheritances, and laying both the living and the dead under contribution, he endeavoured to monopolize to himself all the commerce of the Province, and had already in part succeeded. He ruined in *Constantius*'s opinion, whoever had the misfortune to displease him; and dishonoured by the infamous business of an Informer (o), a profession, says *Ammianus Marcellinus*, which inspires nothing but sentiments of humanity and equity. 'Tis said he had given the hint of a new Tax upon *Alexandria*, by remonstrating, that *Alexander* the Founder of the City had built it at his own expence, and that therefore all the houses belong'd to the Royal Demesne. The *Alexandrians* had already risen once against *George*, who with some difficulty escap'd from their hands. *Constantius* sent him back to *Alexandria*, more terrible, and more hated than ever. At his return, passing near a Temple with his Retinue, which was always very numerous, he looked upon that Edifice with a menacing aspect, and said, *How long shall this Sepulcre be left standing?* The Pagans who knew that there was but little distance between his threats and the execution

(o) *Professionisque sua oblitus, qua nihil nisi justum uadet et lene, ad delatorum ansa feralia desciscet.*
Amm.

execution of them, were in consternation, and only considered how they might get rid of so furious an Enemy. Julian's accession to the Empire put, no doubt, a stop to George's zeal; and the Pagans were restrained by the presence of *Artemius*, and the fear of his return. But the death of this Officer gave them the signal of vengeance and Sedition. (p) With the most dreadful cries they seized upon *George*, and hurried him to Prison. One morning they fetched him from thence, dragged him through the streets, trampled him under foot, and knocked him on the head with clubs. In the same manner they used *Dracontius* master of the Mint, and *Diodorus* who had the dignity of Count: the first for having broken down an Altar lately erected in the Mint; the second, because by his own private authority he cut the hair of some Children, which the Pagans had suffered to grow in honour of some of their

I 4

Deities,

(p) *Soxomen* and *Socrates* relate also another cause of this Sedition; which was, the discovery of human skulls and strange and ridiculous Idols, which the Christians found as they were digging in a place where the Pagans had formerly celebrated the cruel mysteries of *Mithras*. But what those two Historians relate has so much similitude with that which undoubtedly happened in the time of Bishop *Theophilus*, under the reign of *Theodosius* I. that it is to be feared these Authors, who sometimes failed in exactness have here confounded times. This is the conjecture of *M. de Tillemont*, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, tom. 8. art. 73. n. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34.

Deities. The Populace spent their fury upon these three bodies, and never ceased to insult them, till they had reduced them to ashes, and thrown those ashes into the Sea: for fear, said this distracted Crowd, lest the Christians shoud gather them up, and build Churches to these new Martyrs. This was not doing justice either to *George* or the Christians. They were so far from being disposed to honour his memory, that it never entered into their thoughts even to defend him from the Pagans, and imagined they had given a great proof of moderation, by not joining with his Executioners.

* *Julian* was highly irritated when he learnt this news. It was not an obscure event which he cou'd appear to be ignorant of, or which Policy woud permit him to dissemble in a City already but too much inclined to Sedition. The Pagans alone were guilty, and, if he tolerated their crime, scandal woud revert upon his own person, and even upon Paganism itself. He woud have inflicted on them an exemplary chastisement, if he had not been moved to compassion by the entreaties of *Julian* his maternal Uncle, and like himself an Apostate, who was then Count of the East, and had been Prefect of *Egypt*. He therefore pardoned the

Alexandrians:

* Amm. ubi sup. Sozom. ubi sup. Jul. Ep. x. Id. Ep. ix.

Alexandrians: but he writ them a letter in which he expressed his just indignation, represented the blackness of their attempt, and exaggerated the clemency he shewed to them. In speaking of *George*, he did not mention the two Officers who had been massacred with him: because not designing to revenge their death, which was the most heinous, he blushed to seem to forgive it. His letter is full of noble Sentiments. I woud not answer for it, but that after having writ it, he was in his heart pleased with those who had furnished him with the subject. *George* was possessed of a very fine Library, even before his Episcopacy, though he was not a Man of learning. At his death it had been pillaged with the rest of his effects. *Julian* gave himself some trouble to collect his books again. To this purpose he wrote to *Ecdicius* the Prefect of *Egypt*. " Men have different tastes: Mine from my Childhood has been for books You will do me the office of a friend to recover those which belonged to *George*. He had many upon Philosophy and Rhetoric, many which treated of the impious doctrine of the *Galileans*. I shoud wish all of this latter kind were totally lost. But lest others more useful shoud be secreted with them, let these also be enquired after I am acquainted with *George's* Library. When I resided in *Cappadocia*, he lent me seve-

"ral volumes out of it to be copy'd, and I
"restor'd them to him again."

* Julian did not testify the same indignation to the inhabitants of *Aretbusa* in Syria, which he had done to the *Alexandrians*: and yet it woud have been at least as properly placed. Mark, the Bishop of this small City, one of those who had in his infancy preserved his life, had drawn upon himself the hatred of the Infidels, by labouring for their conversion with too lively a zeal; (q) and more particularly by destroying under *Constantius* one of the most celebrated Temples. Under Julian they woud have obliged him to rebuild it, or to pay the expence. The whole City rose, from the Women and Children to the Magistrates, and exhausted upon this venerable old man, such refined arts of cruelty, as we find few examples of in History; without being able to extort from him an obolus or a sigh, nay, without so much as altering the serenity of his aspect or the gaiety of his humour. He tired out the Pagans, and forced them to admire his constancy and permit him to live.

The Prefect of the East, *Sallust* the second, whom we must not confound with *Sallust* the Prefect of *Gaul*, coud not forbear saying to the Emperor upon the subject of the Mutiny

at

* Greg. N. or iii. 88. & seq. Theodoret. I. iii. c. 7. Sozom. I. v. c. 10.

(q) Προθυμοτερον ἢ κατὰ πειθά. Sozom.

at *Aretbusa*: It is scandalous for us to be overcome by an old Man, whose defeat woud have done us no honour. I fear all this may turn to our confusion and the Christian's glory.

* We do not find that these words recalled to Julian's memory the obligations he had to the Bishop of *Aretbusa*: and yet his † prejudices do not seem always to have stifled in him the sentiments of gratitude. For he wrote to Bishop *Aetius*, his and *Gallus*'s ancient Friend, to invite him to come to Court. He furnished him with carriages to repair thither, and made him a present of a fine Estate in the isle of *Lesbos*. But this *Aetius*, surnamed the *Atheist*, had formed a new Sect amongst the *Arians*, and, according to Julian's system, the heads of Parties were always valuable to him. He protected the Malecontents, the Turbulent, the Schismatics, those who had been deposed for their crimes. In a word, all whom he thought proper Persons to disturb the peace of the Church, he supported in the pursuit of their pretensions. On the contrary, he hated all moderate Men; and those Bishops, who were capable of restraining the People and preventing them from running into those faults which they were so liable to at a critical conjuncture, when Religion divided every

* Philostorg. l. vi. c. 7. Jul. Ep. xxxi. xxxvi. li. lii.

† Chrysost. contr. Gent. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 5. &c.

every City into two Factions, he threatened to make responsible for the disorders that shoud happen. If they writ to represent to him, that, far from inciting their People to Sedition, they kept them within the bounds of their duty by their exhortations, this malicious Prince found the art, from their own words, to calumniate them to the People. He writ to them, that the Bishop assuming to himself all the honour of their moderation, endeavoured to make them pass for seditious, disposed to run into the greatest excesses if they were not curbed ; that they ought therefore to be speedy in driving out an Informer and a dangerous Enemy. He was still more inveterate against those who by converting the Infidels, repaired those breaches he made in the Church. St. Athanasius, who upon the death of George had re-enter'd into his See, having baptized some Women of distinction, Julian banished him out of Egypt, and gave secret orders to take away his life. But Providence preserved this great Man from becoming a prey to the Murderers, and reserved him for new combats.

* To have seen Julian thus busying himself in the several particulars of the Persecution, one shoud have thought it occupied all his thoughts ; but to have seen his intense application to business, one shoud have been surprised

* Amm. l. xxii. c. x. xxv. c. 4. Lib. or x. p. 305.

surprised he had leisure to be a Persecutor. He revived the ancient laws, corrected them, (r) and cleared up their obscurity, to take away all pretext of chicane, or made new ones, whose characteristic was presciuity and precision. He diminished the Imposts, he refused or moderated, what his Predecessors had exacted under the specious name of presents. When the Emperors ascended the Throne, or had gained any Victory, or when they celebrated the fifth and the tenth years of their Reign, the Provinces sent them Crowns of gold. The weight was not fixed; but as those which weigh'd the most were best received, they often amounted to a thousand ounces, and sometimes to above two thousand. It appeared mean to Julian, that a homage, voluntary in its origin, shoud be exacted as a debt; and that a present destined to do honour to the Prince, and to express the joy of his People, shoud indulge his varice, and be watered with the tears of those that offered it. He declared therefore, that if they resolv'd to do him an honour which he did not demand, he shoud receive with the same pleasure the smallest Crown as the largest; but that he woud receive none which exceeded the weight of seventy ounces. Never Prince thought less of enriching

(r) *Jura quædam correxit in melius, ambagibus circumcisis, indicantia liquide quid juberent fieri vel yerant. Ann.*

enriching himself. He had frequently in his mouth an expression of *Alexander the Great*, who used to say, that his friends were the Trustees of his Treasure. *Julian* thought his wealth more secure in his Subjects hands than his own ; in this resembling (s) *Constantius Chlorus*, his Grandfather, who from his little regard to wealth had acquired the Surname of THE POOR : a title more glorious to an Emperor than that of Conqueror. An entire liberty was allowed of trying suits where the Demesne was concerned ; and the Prerogative whose right is always good under an avaritious Prince, frequently lost the cause under *Julian*.

* He laboured to re-establish the Cities in their antient splendor. Their declension was owing to two principal reasons : the diversion of the necessary funds for the public repairs, and the venality of exemptions. As the Municipal Offices were attended with great expences, (t) every one endeavoured to keep off from those ruinous Honours. The Eunuchs of *Constantius* had publicly made a traffic

(s) *Constantius Chlorus* had so small a quantity of plate and moveables of value, that when he made a feast he was obliged to borrow them.

* Liban. or. x. 296. 297. 308. & Paneg. 182. Amm. l. xxi. c. 12. xxii. c. 9. xxv. c. 4.

(t) The Municipal Officers [Curiales] amongst other burthensome Commissions, were in their turns charged with levying the Impositions in the District of their respective Cities, and were answerable for the produce of them.

a traffic of these Immunities, and by this unworthy commerce the Councils of the Cities were become abandoned. Those Citizens who by their birth, merit, and riches woud have been the most capable of serving their Country, either absolutely quitted it, or only remained in it to act the part of strangers or unconcerned Spectators. *Julian* put every City again in possession of the lands (u) which the Emperors had usurp'd, and obliged those to take their place in Council, who had absconded from it. But his ideas of the Public good too abstracted and too hotly pursued, render'd him unjust to several particular Persons. The most ancient and the best acquired privileges were contested, and soon declared void. No other resource was left, but underhand to engage the Communities to desist from their prosecutions, or to gain the interest of those who had the ear of the Emperor. 'Tis certain amongst that croud of Philosophers, with which he was surrounded, all were not proof against a bribe. *Julian* had perceiv'd the avariciousness of some amongst them; but he chose rather to satiate it if possible, by loading them with benefits, than to dismiss them at the hazard of being esteemed a Prince who bestow'd

(u) *Possessiones publicas Civitatibus jubemus restitui, ita ut justis aestimationibus locentur, quo cunctarum possit Civitatum reparatio procurari.* P. P. Id. Mart. C. P. Mamertino et Nevitta Coll. *Cod. Theod.*

beftow'd his friendship without diſcernment, or withdrew it by caprice. *ut erga ab eo quis subi*
 * When exemptions were not in the case, there was found in him, according to *Ammianus*, all the integrity of a *Cassius* or a *Lyc. curgus*. His Tribunal, acceſſible to all, was the aſylum of the innocent, and the punishment of the guilty. Every time he went to the Temples (which very frequently happened) he attended with affability to all who laid claim to his justice. There was no buſineſs which he thought below him: he gave an entire liberty of ſpeech to the Advocates; but he ſuffer'd it to be carry'd even to licentiousneſs and want of reſpect. Frequently in the middle of a cauſe he woud abruptly demand of what Religion the Parties were. These inſidious queſtions were perhaps only an effect of levity or intemperance of tongue. Perhaps also *Julian* imagined he teſtified his impariaſity, by ſometimes doing juſtice to thoſe whom he knew to be Christians: But he woud have ſucceeded better in proving it, by ſuppreſſing a curioſity justly ſuſpected and at leaſt ill-timed. As to the reſt, we are auſſured, that in the decision of affairs, he never ſuffered either Religion (w) or any fo-

oſt in ſuch a manner to be ſtricken. *reign*
 * Amm. xxii. c. 9, 10. Lib. or. x. 384. Suidas.
 (w) *Et quamquam in diſceptando aliquoties erat in- tempeſtivus, quid quaque jurgantium coleret, tempore alieno interrogans: tamen nulla ejus definitio litis a vero diſſimans reperitur, nec argui unquam potuit ob Religionem*

reign motive to incline the scale. A Woman had a process against one of the Emperor's Domestic's (x). This Officer had been broke, and that was what perhaps had given the Woman the boldness to prosecute him. When she entered the place of audience, she was surprised to see him with the Military girdle; and despairing of obtaining justice against a man who had had so much interest as to be admitted again into the Palace, she began to lament her ill fortune. Julian hearing her, gave her courage: *Pursue your pretensions* (y) said he to her, *and fear nothing. He has that girdle to enable him to make more speed in bad roads; but he has not the power of making you lose your cause.*

* Julian saw with concern the forms of the Bar, invented for the safeguard of Innocence and Justice, serve as pretexts to chicanery and deceit. He kept in view above all natural equity, adhering rather to the spirit than the letter of the Laws. This maxim was excellent for a Sovereign, who had made the Laws his study. But he had too much vivacity, not sometimes to mistake his own

sentiments
Religionem vel quodcumque aliud ab æquitatis recto
tramite deviasse. *Amm.*

(x) This happened at Antioch.

(y) *Prosequere, mulier, si quid te læsati existimas: hic enim sic cinctus est, ut expeditius per latum incedat; at parum nocere tuis partibus potest.* *Amm.*

* Suid. in voce *Isaia* 65. *Amm.* ubi sub. *Greg. N.*
er. iv. 121.

sentiments for the spirit of the Law, and his private ideas for common equity. He happily was sensible, says *Ammianus*, (2) of his levity and heat, and this knowledge disposed him to hearken to reason. He permitted the Prefects of the Praetorium, and those who approached his person, to put a stop to his fallies, and to bring him back into the right way. This probably is what has given occasion to say of him, that his Decrees were unsteady, and that in the morning he undid what he had done the evening before. But after all, it is less uncommon to see Princes decide with too much precipitation, than to find those who have the courage to reform their hasty determinations. Not but that *Julian* woud sometimes obstinately persist in supporting the judgments of his caprice : but in general, he was sorry for his mistakes, and pleas'd with those that made him sensible of them. He imagined by this he shoud be assured of the sincerity of the praises, which the same persons gave him. One day the Advocates (a) were commanding to the skies the superiority of his genius and rational faculties : *How shoud I love your applause,*

(2) *Levitatem agnoscens commotioris ingenii sui, Prefectis proximisque permittebat, ut fiderent impetus sua aliorum tendentes, ad quæ decebat monitu opportuno frenarent: monstrabatque subinde se dolere delictis, et gaudere correctione.* *Amm.*

(a) *This happen'd at Antioch.*

applauses, (b) said he with emotion, if I thought you bold enough to blame me when I deserv'd it.

* Julian hated the vicious, and was hated by them ; but he esteemed their hatred and reproaches an honour. He chastised them with a severity tempered with clemency, chusing rather to menace than punish, to correct, not to ruin them. The kind of Villains against whom he exerted himself the most vigorously, were those who, covering their private animosities with an appearance of zeal for the person of the Prince, accused their Enemies of treason. The wildest accusations of that kind had succeeded so well under *Constantius*, that though they wanted proof, they presumed to hazard them before Julian, to whom they had formerly almost proved fatal. His Philosophy then abandoned him (c) ; he stamped and smote his hands together ; from a Judge he seemed to become

(b) *Gaudetnam plane præ meque serebam, si ab his laudarer, quos et vituperare posse adverterem, si quid factum sit secus aut dictum.* *Amm.*

* *Amm.* l. xxii. c. 9. *xxv.* c. 4. *Greg. N. or.* iv. 121.

(c) St. *Gregory Nazianzen* says that Julian drove away with blows and kicks, the Poor who came to solicit favours from him. These Poor might possibly be Informers. Perhaps also Julian familiarizing himself too much with the Populace, they were importunate, and lost all due respect, so much, that the Emperor forgetting what he owed to himself, might be hurried away to this excess.

become a Party in the cause ; yet sometimes he satisfied himself with despising the Informers and the frivolous informations. (d) A Man charged his Fellow-citizen with aspiring to the Empire, and was not silence'd by the Emperor's disregard, who for several days together had seem'd not to hear him. At length to deliver himself from this importunity, Julian ask'd him what was the condition of this pretended criminal. He is, said he, a rich Citizen. What proof have you against him ? added the Prince smiling. He has made himself a Robe of Purple Silk, reply'd the Accuser. Julian woud hear no more, and as the Informer still persisted, he said to the High Treasurer : Let them give this dangerous Tatler a pair of stockings of Purple, and bid him carry them to the person he accuses, to suit with his Robe (e).

Notwithstanding the prodigious multitude of Civil Affairs with which Julian was burthen'd, he re-establish'd discipline amongst his Troops, gave Posts to Officers of

experience

(d) Julian was then at Ancyra, the Capital of Galatia, where he sojourn'd some days as he went from Constantinople to Antioch.

(e) Jube periculoso Garritori pedum tegmina dari purpurea, ad adversarium preferenda : quem, ut datur intelligi, chlamydem hujus coloris memorat sibi confarsione : ut sciri possit, sine viribus maximis quid pannuli proficient leves. Amm.

* Amm. l. xxii. c. 7. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 21. Sozom. l. v. 3. Liban. or. Conf. 295. Socr. l. iii. c. 21.

experience, fortified the Cities of Thrace, and provided for the security of the Garrisons which defended the banks of the *Danube*; nothing escaped his vigilance, nor his spirit of entering into the minutest particulars. His accession to the Empire had imprinted respect and terror upon the Barbarians. The *Indians* themselves, and the inhabitants of the isle of *Taprobane* (*f*) known by the name of *Ceylon*, sent Ambassadors to him loaded with presents, emulating each other in courting his friendship and offering him Tribute. The *Persians* alone committed some hostilities near *Mesopotamia*; but more to satisfy appearances, than with a design of continuing a war which had already lasted too long, in which they had not profited either by the ill success, or the errors of *Constantius*. They were not yet resolved to demand a Peace; tho' they were disposed to accept it. *Julian* therefore had it in his power to enjoy his Victories in tranquility. But this Prince was young, incapable of repose, sensible of no other pleasures but those of glory, and wishing for glory of every kind. That which he had justly acquired in *Gaul* had rather increased, than satisfied his passion. 'Twas little for him to have restored the Empire

(*f*) *Abusque Divis et Serendivis*. These are the Inhabitants of the Isles of *Diu* and *Ceylon*. *Ceylon* which is the antient *Taprobane*, as *Bochart* proves, is called by the *Arabians* *Serandis*.

pire to its ancient bounds, he desired to extend them, and to add new titles to those of Conqueror of the *Germans* and *Franks*.

It was proposed to *Julian* to march against the *Goths*, a deceitful and perfidious People, who seem'd to intrench upon some clauses of the Treaties. But he despis'd them, thinking, that after the Christians, there were no enemies in the World worthy of him but the *Perians*. He projected nothing less than to subdue that unconquerable Nation, who first under the name of *Parthians*, then of *Perians*, with almost equal vicissitude of Victories and Defeats, had struggled for four hundred years against the Fortune of the *Romans*: And not satisfied with bearing them as Partners in *Asia*, disputed with them their Possessions there, sometimes extending their Conquests beyond the *Euphrates*, and always their Pretensions as far as the *Hellepont*. We are told that *Julian* thought himself still the more assured of subduing this formidable Power, because believing the Metempsychosis of *Pythagoras*, or rather the return of Souls into other Human bodies, as taught by *Plato*, he imagined he possess'd the soul of *Alexander the Great*, and was himself *Alexander*. As we may judge without rashness, that amongst the other flatteries of the Philosophers this was not forgot, we must also have something more than the authority of *So-*

Socrates, to persuade us that the Emperor gave credit to it. Without believing he had the soul of *Alexander*, he was conscious he had the courage of that Conqueror. This was sufficient to make him hope he shoud meet with his Fortune.

* Having formed a resolution of attacking the *Persians* the following year, and from that time to draw near the frontiers, *Julian* departed for *Antioch*, after having resided about five months in *Constantinople*, the place of his birth, where he left several marks of his affection. For he raised the Senators of new *Rome* to an equality with those of the ancient. He caused a Port to be made where the vessels were secured from the South wind; and fronting the Port he erected a magnificent gallery in the form of a half moon. He built a Portico in the Palace to place his Library in; and gave orders for transporting an Obelisk out of *Egypt*, which his Predecessor, with the same view, had already caus'd to be convey'd to the Seaside. *Constantius*, said *Julian*, loved *Constantinople* as his Sister, and I love her as my Mother, as one at whose breasts I suck'd.

* Amm. l. xxii. c. 9. Zosim. l. iii. Jul. Ep. lviii. 1

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
JULIAN
The APOSTATE.

The A P O S T A T E.

BOOK the Fifth.

THE Emperor pass'd the Straight about 15th of May 362, and arrived soon after at Nicomedia. The Senate and People came out to meet him with an air of dejectedness and poverty, suitable to the present fortune of the City. This Capital of Bithynia, which from the beauty of its situation, the magnificence of its buildings, its grandeur and its riches, had been looked upon as the fifth City of the World, was four years before destroyed by an Earthquake, followed by a fire which lasted five days. It was now on- ly

* Amm. I. xxii. c. 9. Liban. Or. Conf. 247. Or. 5. 300. Jul. Or. v. & 6. Greg. Naz. Or. 133.

ly a confus'd heap of desolation and ashes. Julian traversed the Ruins, his heart big with concern, and his eyes bathed in tears, without pronouncing a single word. He remembered his passing part of his childhood there with Bishop *Eusebius*. He had resided there afterwards, and the sight of several with whom he had been acquainted, contributed still more to affect him. His compassion was not fruitless. The Emper. did not leave *Nicomedia*, till he had liberally provided every thing which was necessary to rebuild it. When arrived at the confines of *Galatia*, he quitted his rett, and went to *Pessinunte* in *Pbrygia*, to see the Temple of *Cybele*, whose Statue had been brought from thence to *Rome* by *Scipio Nasica*, many ages before. He was shocked with the indifference of the *Pessinuntians* towards their ancient Protectress, and vented his anger upon two Christians, one of whom had pulled down the Altar of the Goddess. It was in this very Town, and probably to revive the People's Zeal, that he composed, in honour of the Mother of the Gods, the discourse which we still have. This hasty composition, which did not cost him a whole night (as he takes care to inform us) contains an allegorical explication of the Fable of *Atys*, and the Worship of *Cybele*. 'Tis a tiresome, but remarkable example of those efforts of fancy with which

KO d. 1. 1. 1. the

the Pagans coloured over the ridiculousness of their Fables. At the same time he took up the pen against a voluptuous Cynic, who criticised the conduct of *Diogenes*. *Julian*, who had an interest in defending all Persons of singularity, undertook the Apology of this ancient Philosopher, and his principles; and finished it, he says, in two days at his idle hours. In reading the excessive praises which he gives him, we perceive, that, improving upon *Alexander's* Sentiment, he woud at least as soon have wished to have been *Diogenes*, as *Julian*.

* At his entrance into *Cilicia*, he was received by *Celsus*, formerly his Fellow-disciple at *Athens*, and then Governor of the Province. After *Julian* had offered a Sacrifice, and whilst he was still at the Altar, *Celsus* pronounced his Panegyric. He had the same reception given him in all Places; and without doubt it was partly for the pleasure of being eloquently harangued, that he bestowed the Government upon Men of Letters exercised in the art of speaking. Instead of their making the usual presents, he only desired of the Governors the tribute of Erudition, Wit, and Eloquence. He testified great esteem and friendship to *Celsus*, embraced him, made him ascend with him into his chariot, and carried him back to *Tarsus*, the Capital of *Cilicia*.

* Amm. ib. Lib. Or. x. 300.

The Emperor entered *Antioch* before the end of *July*, at a time when the Pagans commemorated the death of *Adonis*; when the sobs and tokens of sorrow used in this mournful Solemnity, were mingled with acclamations and Throats of joy. This, according to the ideas of the Pagans, was a fatal presage, which *Julian* ought to have avoided; but he thought he could never arrive soon enough at *Antioch*; so much had his imagination magnified to him the pleasures he flattered himself with finding there; and when he had resolved upon any thing, nothing could divert him from it, not even superstition. He signalized his arrival by an action of clemency. The Magistrates and those who had been in Office, coming as usual to salute him, he forbade one of them, named *Thalassius*, to present himself before him, because he had done ill offices to the *Cæsar Gallus*. Some persons, who were then at law with *Thalassius*, eager to make use of this juncture, gathered together, the very next day, a crowd of people, and came up to the Emperor, crying out: *Thalassius the enemy of your piety* (a) *has seized upon our fortunes*: *He has committed a thousand violences*. *Julian* was sensible that they made a handle of the disgrace of an

K 2 unhappy

* Amm. ibid. Vide notas Vales. ad hunc locum.

(a) The word *Piety* is here only a term of respect, as we say *Your Majesty*.

unhappy Man, who, though guilty to him, was perhaps innocent with regard to others.

(b) *I confess, said he to the accusers, that your enemy is also mine. But this is precisely what ought to suspend your pursuits against him, till I have received satisfaction. I certainly deserve the preference.* At the same time he forbad the Prefect to hear them, till he had restored the accused to favour: which not long after he did. A modern Author supposes, That *Thalassius* purchas'd *Julian's* friendship by his Apostacy: But I find nothing in the Ancients which favours this conjecture.

* In the month of *August* he went to sacrifice to *Jupiter* upon Mount *Cassius*, a very high Mountain which bounds *Antioch* to the South. This was a journey; but *Julian* performed it several times during his residence in that City. Nothing was difficult to him when it was to visit a place which the Pagans reverenced. One day while he was sacrificing there, he saw a Man prostrate upon the earth at his feet, who humbly implored him to grant him his life. He demanded who it was. It is *Theodosius*, formerly Chief of the Council of *Hierapolis*, reply'd they, who, when he conducted *Constantius* back, at that time preparing to attack you,

(b) *Agnosco quem dicitis offendisse me justa de causa: Et si lere vos interim consentaneum est, dum mihi inimico potiori faciat satis.*

* *Jul. Misop. Amm. xxii. c. 14.*

complimented him before-hand upon his Victory, and conjured him with tears and groans, to send immediately to Hierapolis the head of this Rebel, this Ungrateful Wretch. 'Twas thus he styled you. I know all this long since, said the Emperor, and knew it from more than one. Then directing his speech to Theodosius, who was half dead with apprehensions, he added: *Return home (c) without fear. You live under a Prince, who, following the maxims of a great Philosopher, studiously endeavours to diminish the number of his enemies, and to increase that of his friends.*

* He contented himself with banishing *Romanus* and *Vincentius*, Captains of the Equities of the Guards, though they were convicted of aspiring to the Empire. He condemned indeed to the last punishment, for the same crime, the son of that *Marcellus*, who, when he formerly commanded under him the Troops in Gaul, had treated him in so unworthy a manner, that *Constantius* could not overlook it. But far from including *Marcellus* in his son's crime, he endeavoured to add some consolation to him by honours and visible marks of distinction. Ten of his Guards, who had conspired against his Per-

K 3

(c) *Abi securus ad lares, exurus omni metu, clementia Principis, qui, ut prudens definivit, inimicorum sub minuere numerum, augereque amicorum, sponte sua contendit ac libens.*

* Amm. 1. xxii. c. 43. *Suidas ex Eusep. Liban. or.*
x. 307. *Or. Conf.* 246. *xxx. simA. qohM. 1. 1.*

son, and in their wine betray'd themselves, he punished no farther than by reproaching them with their perfidy. But if Julian's clemency was sometimes excessive, as may be judged by this example; his severity was not always within bounds. *Gaudentius*, Secretary of State, and another Officer who had been Deputy to the Prefects, were brought to *Antioch* loaded with chains, and soon after put to death by the hands of the Executioner. Both of these had shewn great warmth for the interests of *Constantius*: and Julian who perhaps personally hated them both, certainly the first, was so mean as to impute to them their fidelity as a crime, which even Policy, setting aside clemency and equity, ought at least to have made him forgive. Thus Julian alternately gave into the most contradictory excesses: More frequently into that which flatter'd his vanity, more willingly perhaps into that which gratified his revenge; not capable of fixing upon the just medium, unless by virtue of reflection: And yet that very reflection sometimes served only to throw him into the opposite extreme to what he wished to a void.

I have already said, that the Emperor had formed to himself the most agreeable idea of his residence at *Antioch*. This great City was almost entirely Christian, and divided into three Communions, two of which,

(d) dis-

(d) disunited only by a misapprehension of each other, professed the Catholic Faith; the third followed the Heresy of *Arius*. Julian perhaps did not imagine that the Pagans were so small a number: And the divisions of the Christians, join'd to the almost general corruption of their manners, and the ruling inclination they had for pleasures, persuaded him they had only a superficial attachment to Christianity. He imagined he shoud draw them insensibly into Paganism by the charm of Pagan feasts inseparable from shew and licentiousness, and gain their hearts by that affability which had succeeded him so well in Gaul and elsewhere. But he had not considered enough his own character, nor the genius of that Capital of the East. The Sect of the *Arians*, the most powerful, and without dispute the most numerous, formed a particular Class of Malecontents, incapable of being pleased with the Enemy and Successor of *Constantius*. Besides, all this populous City, tho' enervated by the warmth of the Climate, and passionate for the theatres, esteemed it an honour to bear the Christian name, which received its birth within its walls. Julian, no less inconsistent, but in a different manner, a Pagan with severe morals, Superstitious and at the same time a Philosopher, cou'd not fail of displeasing, both as a Restorer of Paganism,

K. 4

and

(d) Those of St. Meletius and Paulinus.

and as insensible to voluptuousness. He never tolerated debauchery, or gave way himself to pleasures, but when they made part of the Pagan feasts: *Antioch* hated no diversions, but those which had a relation to the Worship of the Gods. In a word, the whole City entirely opposite to *Julian*, both in good and ill qualities, had nothing in common with him but a satirical and rallying genius: And this only conformity became still a new source of antipathy. Lastly, the popular turn of this Prince, which was not always accompanied with dignity and prudence, must sooner or later make him despised by a People subject to be deficient in respect to their Sovereign. Accordingly it was not long before *Julian* was sensible of his mistake.

* Not far distant from the City, in a place called *Daphne*, was a Temple of *Apollo*, celebrated through all the East for its Antiquity, Magnificence, Privileges, and for the Oracles that were delivered there. It was supported by a number of pillars of singular beauty. Gold and jewels scattered their rays with profusion, and yet with elegance of taste. At the farthest part of this vast Edifice, between the Statues of *Diana* and the *Muses*, was rais'd that of *Apollo*, which Sozom. l. v. c. 19. Liban. Monod. 187. Idem. Antioch. p. 349. 350. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 1. Amm. Chrysost. de S. Babyla.

which was of marble (e) and so highly finished, that it was compared to the Jupiter of *Pbidas*. The God in one hand held his Lyre, and in the other a golden Cup, with which he seemed to make a libation to the Earth. By his attitude he appeared to endeavour to make the Goddess relent, and engage her to restore *Daphne*, whom she had received in her bosom, and changed into a Laurel, according to the Fable, to preserve her from the pursuit of that God. King *Selucus*, the Founder of the Temple, had endeavoured to have it thought, that the metamorphosis of *Daphne* happened in this very place, which yielded in nothing to the delicious valley of *Tempe* in *Thessaly*, where others placed the Scene of this Adventure. An immense Wood of Cypress and Laurel, where the Sun never penetrated, clear and flowing Streams, the beauty of the Sky, the perfume and enamel of the Flowers, all conspired to sooth the senses: And as the fabulous event, which was celebrated there, was proper to excite and excuse criminal desires, we must not be surprised, that, in the midst of the corruptions of Paganism, debauchery had fixed its residence in this enchanted spot. It had reigned there with impunity

(e) *Theodoret* says, it was only of wood gilt. But *Libanius*, who had seen it several times, and who describes it, assures us it was of marble. Yet *Amianus* seems also to intimate that it was of wood.

210. *The LIFE* An. 362.
purity till the time of the *Cesar Gallus*, and the place was frequented to honour *Apollo* by imitating him. As to *Daphne*'s example, it was followed by none. A Man of sedateness and regular behaviour woud have blushed to appear there. He woud have been pointed at as a stupid profane wretch, and a kind of monster, the meeting of whom was an ill Omen. *Gallus*, desirous to remedy this disorder, had caused the body of *St. Babylas*, formerly Bishop of *Antioch*, to be translated to the village of *Daphne*, and had consecrated a Church to the true God, under the invocation of this illustrious Martyr. After this, the place was les frequent-
ed by the Idolaters. The object of worship being chang'd, the Assemblies were more decent. It looked as if an invisible virtue, springing from the ashes of the holy Martyr, had put a restraint upon the youthful follies of the greatest Libertines. Some who came only to take the air, or even with a bad design, entering through curiosity into the Church, felt themselves touched, and returned to the City possessed with a sense of Religion. But what was not less surprising, at the arrival of the body of *St. Babylas*, *Apollo* ceased to deliver his Oracles. Whether it was that the Almighty, to honour his Servant, imposed silence upon the Demons, or that the Priests of the Temple finding themselves

too

too narrowly watch'd by the Christians, durst no longer hazard their accustomed frauds.

* Things had remained in this situation near eleven years, when *Julian* came to *Antioch*; and soon after the day approached on which they were to celebrate the Feast of *Apollo* at *Daphne*. This Prince flew thither with an imagination filled, as he tells us himself, with Victims, Libations, Dances, Perfumes, Youths clothed in white and pompously adorned, in a word, with all the Magnificence that *Antioch* was capable of. But what was his surprise to find no one in the Temple but the Sacrificer, not a cake, not a grain of incense, no Victim but a goose; and even that the Sacrificer had brought with him! *Julian* was then sensible of the progress Christianity had made in *Antioch*, and of the indifference of the few Pagans that still remain'd there. In the bitterness of his heart, he gave a reprimand to the Senate, worthy of an Apostle of Paganism.

Tis scandalous, laid he, that a City like yours shoud treat the Gods with more contempt, than the most miserable Village in the extremity of *Ponius* woud do.

A City possessed of so vast a Territory, at a time when the Gods have dissipated the obscurity of *Atheism*, indolently beholds the Feast of the God of their fathers arrive, without being at the expence of any thing to affect of

Jul. Misopog.

“ of a Bird, which ought to have offered
“ an Ox for every Tribe. If the cost was
“ feared, ought not the whole City to have
“ been at the charge of paying for a Bull?
“ Is it not able to raise the sum? When you
“ make a feast, upon other occasions, you
“ lavish your money with profusion: Now
“ when your vows shoud be made for the
“ safety of the Public and of private fami-
“ lies, no victim in the name of the City, no
“ offering for the Citizens. The Priest in-
“ stead of carrying away his portion of the
“ Sacrifices, is the only Person that has
“ brought one. To lead a life without re-
“ proach, to practise virtue, and to be-
“ have suitably to the ministerial function,
“ is all that the Gods exact from their
“ Priests. To present the Victims is the Peo-
“ ple's duty. But you permit your wives
“ to ruin you, in favour of the Galileans.
“ They make Impiety admired by a crowd
“ of miserable wretches, whom they sup-
“ port at your expence. You yourselves set
“ the women the example of contemning
“ the Gods, and yet presume to think your-
“ selves innocent! 'Tis perhaps because
“ you are indigent that nothing has been
“ brought . . . Alas! Who is there a-
“ mongst you that cannot find wherewith to
“ make a splendid entertainment on his
“ Birth-day? Upon so great a solemnity,
“ no creature has offered a little Oyl for the
“ Lamp,

" Lamp, a Libation, a grain of incense.
" I know not what the Men of character,
" if there be any amongst you, think of
" such a conduct: But this I know, that
" the Gods are incensed at it."

Nobody was affected with this discourse, which *Julian* pronounced in the Temple, and at the feet of the Image: (for the Magistrates and part of the People sometimes repaired to the Temple, when the Emperor went thither: But otherwise seldom, and with empty hands.) Far from participating in the Sacrifices, they interrupted them by their applauses and tumultuous acclamations in honour of *Julian*. This was tempting the Prince by his foible, and setting his vanity at variance with his superstition. Yet he did not give into it. He esteemed their acclamations as profane flatteries, and warmly censured them. *It is not for the Gods, cry'd Julian,* *'tis for me you come to the Temples. You fill them with tumult and confusion by your mean flatteries. Vile mortals as we are, you put us in the place of the Gods; you profane that incense so as which you sacrilegiously steal from their Altars. The Gods themselves will not be honoured with adulations. They require a reasonable service only, and prayers couched in modest expressions. Thus he delivered himself upon the manner in which the Deity was to be addressed: Maximis strictly true in*

themselves, but ridiculous in his application of them.

* The less complaisance Julian found upon the article of Religion, the more his enthusiastic zeal was kindled; the more he laboured to indemnify his Gods. He slaughtered Hecatombs of Oxen at once, and whole flocks of other Victims. He caused the most uncommon Birds to be sought by sea and land, which he cut in pieces with his own hands. (f) It was feared that the very species of Bulls woud fail if he returned victorious from the *Persian War*. The expence he was at for sacrifices, was excessive, even in the opinion of the *Pagans*. The Soldiers satiating themselves almost daily with the flesh of the sacrificed Animals, and drinking to excess, became insolent and querulous. They were frequently obliged to be carried off drunk, especially the *Gauls* (g). They thought every thing was to be permitted to them under an Emperor, of their own ma-

king.
* Amm. I. xxii. c. 12. 14. xxv. c. 4. Chrysost. cont. Gent. Greg. N. or. iv. p. 121.

(f) Ut estimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos. Amm.

(g) Adeo ut in dies pæne singulos Milites carnis diffentiore saginâ victantes inculcius, potiusque aviditate corrupti humeris imponi transeuntium per plateas ad sua diversoria portarentur. Petulantos ante omnes et Celtæ, quorum ea tempestate confidencia creverat ultra modum. Augebantur ceremoniarum ritus immodece cum impensarum amplitudine antehac multata et gravi, &c. Amm.

king. But nothing could come up to the Feasts of *Venus* and other such Solemnities, when, refusing to give audience to the Officers and Magistrates, Julian led thro' the City the female Prostitutes, and the other Victims of public incontinency. The Women walked first: The effeminate Youths followed them. Between these two infamous troops, who burst into violent laughter, and uttered whatever licentiousness could suggest, marched the Reformer of Paganism in burlesque solemnity (b), heightening the most he could his Pigmy stature, extending a pointed beard, and affecting the gait of a Giant. His horse followed at a distance, and his Guards closed this ridiculous pomp, (i) In the feasts which followed the Sacrifices,

(b) *Homo brevis, humeros extantans angustos, et barbam præ se ferens hircinam, grandiaque incedens, tanquam Oti frater et Ephialtis, quorum proceritatem Homerus in immensum tollit. Ann.*

(i) St. John Chrysostom, after having given this description, adds: *I am sensible Posterity will refuse to give credit to what I relate, it is so surprising. How indeed can it be conceived, that an Emperor should make himself a public spectacle with an indecency, which the lowest private person wou'd have been ashamed of? But those who are now living will excuse me from bringing proofs of it. . . . Amongst my present Audience, there are old Men, and even young, who have been spectators of these infamies. I conjure them to disprove me, if I add any thing to the truth. No; far from fearing I should be accused of having said too much, I rather suspect I shall be reproached for not having said enough.* Thus

fices, he ate with these wretches, (k) drank their healths, and woud have them drink his. Such companions were more worthy of *Elagabalus* than of a Prince who woud pass for another *Marcus Aurelius*. But he associated with them in public only, and upon a principle of Religion. Thus by a monstrous combination of wisdom and folly, he honoured debauchery as a Pagan, and as a Philosopher abstained from it.

* The whole World were witnesses of what I have now related : But 'tis pretended that in the obscurity of the night, Julian committed abominations more injurious to his memory, than the most infamous debauchery. We are assured that in his nocturnal Sacrifices and Operations of Magic, he slaughtered a great number of young children to consult their Entrails, or to call up the Manes of the dead ; that time revealed these horrid Mysteries (1), and that,
 1. It is very difficult to find out who is the author of this passage. After
 Thus St. Chrysostom spake before the whole City of Antioch. Animatus indicates all this in one word : *Offensio[nis] gratia[bus] vobis licenter pro sacerdotibus sacra, stipatusque mulierculis lactabatur.*

(b) Εγκύρως τελικής θύρας ζρούτην τε καὶ αντιπροσώπευστον
Γερ. Νασ.

Greg. N. or. iii. 91. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 26,
27. Chrysost. cont. Gent.

after Julian's death, coffers filled with heads, and several bodies were found in wells, sinks, and secret places of the Palace. They add, that when he had begun his Journey to Persia, being at *Carrae* in *Mesopotamia*, he shut himself up in the Temple of the Moon, and having done what he thought proper with the Accomplices of his impurity, he sealed the doors, and placed a Guard upon them, which was not to be dismissed till his return. Those who entered the Temple, under the Reign of *Jovian* his Successor, beheld a Woman hanged up by her hair, with arms extended, and her body opened; Julian having endeavoured to find out in her Liver what woud be the success of the War.

If these facts are true, Julian was destined by Providence to finish the true portrait of Idolatry, and of that impious craft which prompts Mankind to penetrate into Futurity. Both principles had frequently exacted human Sacrifices, and shewn by their cruelty, that he was the Author of them, who from the beginning was a Murderer. Yet nothing characterises them more strongly, than their having infused this baseness into a Prince like Julian, who want-

Sacrifice of *Carrae*. St. *Gregory*, before he speaks of the bodies that were found in pits, says, that Julian put to death several persons by night, and that so great a number was thrown into the *Orontes*, that the chanel of the river was choak'd up with them. Which doubtless cannot be literally true.

ed neither principles nor sentiments of Humanity, and who coud not have committed such horrors, but in the madness of Enthusiasm and Superstition. But did he in reality commit them? Justice obliges us to be cautious in deciding, as accusations of this nature are more frequently alledged than proved. We may suspect the discoveries divulged after Julian's death, at a time when the public hatred was not yet appeased: And sometimes popular reports produce Histories with so many probable circumstances, that they deceive those Authors who are least capable of designing to deceive. Nothing seemed incredible in a Pagan, an Apostate, a Persecutor, a man fond of experiments, curious to try all things, and search to the bottom of them; who imagined himself sure of secrecy, and at the worst was so of impunity. He was seen surrounded with Augurs, Auguraries, Astrologers, Interpreters of Dreams, Magicians, Quacks and Impostors of all kinds. Whoever had the assurance to represent himself as a man of experience in the art of Divination, was believed upon his word and employ'd. Villains, who for various crimes had languished in the Mines and Dungeons, vile Artisans, who coud not live upon their busines, were in a moment erected into Prophets and venerable Pontiffs. All search-

ed, or feigned to search, into futurity, and enjoy'd the present.

* At *Daphne* was a spring, as that of *Delphi*, named *Castalia*. The Pagans published the same wonders of both. They said that *Adrian*, while he was yet a Private Man, came thither to consult it, to know his destiny: where having steep'd a laurel-leaf in the water, he read distinctly on it that he shoud one day be Emperor. The Prediction being afterwards verified by the event, he caus'd this source, too dangerous in a Monarchic State, to be stopped up, and covered with an enormous mass of stones. *Julian*, as credulous and less politic, undertook to open it, readily giving a loose to his Subjects' curiosity, eoud he satisfy his own. He sent Deputies to *Dodona*, *Delphi*, *Delos*, in a word to all the Oracles of the Empire. All promised him Victory. But some of their answers were so wretchedly versified, that it gave the wits an opportunity of saying that *Apollo* had forgot the art of Poetry. It was still worse at *Daphne*. The God there was dumb, notwithstanding *Julian*'s importunate solicitations. At length after many Sacrifices *Apollo* spake, only to discover the reason of his silence. *I am enclosed with dead bodies*, said he, *I shall not speak till they are carry'd off.*

* Amm. l. xxii. 12. Greg. N. or. iv. 127. Sozom. l. v. c. 19. Theodoret. l. ii. c. 21. 10. Soer. l. iii. c. 18. Liban. monod. 185. Chrysost. cont. Gent.

aff. Julian apprehended the thing at half a word; and amongst several bodies interred near the Temple, all equally impure and profane according to the ideas of the Pagans, he had at first glance distinguished the Corpse which was the real inconvenience, (m) *the bad neighbour*, as *Libanius* styles it, for which, without daring to name it, the complaint was raised against all the rest. Thus, though the Emperor, in some measure to preserve appearances, commanded all parts near the Temple to be purified, as the *Athenians* had formerly purified the Isle of *Delos*, and all the bodies to be taken up, the order was only executed with regard to the Relicks of *St. Babylas*. A cotemporary Author pretends that *Julian* woud have willingly annihilated the sacred Deposit, thrown it into the Sea, reduced it to ashes, or transported it to a place inaccessible to the devotion of the Faithful, if he had not been restrained by the fear of Divine vengeance. This fear appears at first view not very likely in a determined Pagan; but the Enemies of truth have seldom the courage they think they have. At certain moments a confused sense of doubt and fear arises in their heart, which without lessening the malice lurking there, puts a stop to the effects of it.

(m) Πονηρὸς γεννημάτου . . . γενητοῦ τινος προσώπου
τοῦ γένους. *Liban.*

* The Christians went in crowds to *Daphne* in quest of the Holy Martyr's coffin, and placed it in a chariot to convey it as in triumph to that Church in *Antioch*, from whence *Gallus* had translated it. In the march which was long, some of them sung Psalms, and the whole multitude repeated in a chorus these words of the xcviith Psalm. *Confounded be all they that serve graven Images, that boast themselves of Idols.* Julian incensed to the last degree, gave orders the next day to the Prefect *Sallust* to inform against the principal Authors of the insult offered to his Gods. This Magistrate caused several Christians to be seized; and put to the Torture a young Man named *Theodorus*. Extended from morning till night upon the Rock, he was torn with whips and scourges of iron, without changing his countenance, still singing the same verse of the Psalm, which had been his Crime. Before *Sallust* accepted this odious Commission he had made many fruitless representations against it. The constancy of *Theodorus* gave him an opportunity to renew them with so much warmth and success, that the Christian Prisoners, and *Theodorus* himself, were set at Liberty.

† It was about this time, I imagine, and

¶ Sozom. l. v. c. 19, 20. Socr. l. iii. c. 18. 19.

Theodore. l. iii. c. 13.

† Theod. l. iii. c. 15. Chrysost.

to revenge himself in a different manner, that Julian took it in his head to throw into all the fountains of the City and adjacent places some part of what had been offered in Sacrifice, and of Sprinkling with the Lustral Water, whatever was sold in the Markets. The Christians, according to the Apostle's decision, continued to make use of what was necessary to life; but they were grieved at this profanation. *Javentius* and *Maximinus*, Equerries of the Guards, complained openly of it at a Feast: and the sorrow with which they were affected suggested to them these words of the three young Hebrew captives at Babylon: *Thou didst deliver us into the hands of lawless Enemies, most hateful Apostates, and to an unjust King, the most wicked in all the World* (n): Upon an Information brought against them, they were conducted into Julian's presence. The respectful liberty with which they spake, served only to encrease his anger. He caused them to be beaten with rods and thrown into Prison, after having confiscated their goods. At length being unable to seduce them to Paganism by Emissaries privately instructed to offer them his favour, he caused them to be beheaded at night in the Prison. They were justly esteemed as Martyrs, though Julian

(n) Παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν σεβομένων με, ἐχθρῶν ἀποστολῶν, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀδόκιμος καὶ ταντωτάτῳ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὄντα ἐπὶ της γῆς. *Song of the three children*, ver. 8.

Julian affected to report, that they were punished solely for injurious discourses against his Person.

* That Prince treated with less severity a Widow named *Publia*, whose courage woud in these days find many censurers. This Woman, venerable for her age and virtue, was at the head of a Community of Christian Virgins, and with them sung assiduously the praises of the Almighty. When the Emperor passed near the house, they all raised their voices singing those Psalms which most strongly express the vanity and frailty of Idols. Julian commanded them to be silent when he passed by. But upon the first occasion, St. *Publia*, in the transports of an uncommon zeal, inspired a new boldness into her Virgins, and commanded them to begin the sixty-eighth Psalm : *Let God arise, and let his Enemies be scattered.* Julian had her brought before him, and commanded one of his Guards to strike her on the face. *Publia* esteemed herself honoured by this affront, and still continued to sing as before, when she saw the Emperor pass by. He, ashamed of his sudden gust of passion, and more moderate than many other Persecutors, chose rather to dissemble his resentment, than to add to an ungarded action, which was below a Philosopher, deliberated cruelties, suitable only to a Tyrant.

* After

* Theodoret. 1. iii. c. 14.

* After the removal of St. *Babylas*, *Apollo* again deliver'd *Oracles*: and *Julian* caus'd a magnificent *Peristyle* to be erected round his *Temple*. But on the 22^d of *October*, during the night, the flames consumed the wood-work of this antient *Edifice*, and the *Statue* itself; *Julian* who had immediately flown to the place, being unable to prevent it. The *Christians* attributed this fire to *Divine vengeance*; and *Julian* to the *Christians' resentment* and *jealousy*. He suspected the *Sacrificer* and the *Ministers* who had the charge of the *Temple*, of holding *intelligence* with them. But the *Idolaters* being put to the *torture* accused none of them. On the contrary they still affirmed that the flames had begun at the top: and some *Peasants* who that night were upon the road toward the *City*, said they saw fire from the sky fall upon the *Temple*, tho' the weather was *serene*, and there was not the least appearance of a *storm*. Nevertheless *Julian*, either by way of *reprisals*, or to prevent the *Christians* from *triumphing*, ordered the great *Church* of *Antioch* to be *shut up*, and the *riches* belonging to it to be carried into the *Imperial Treasury*.

He gave this *Commission* to *Julian* his uncle, *Count of the East*. This *Man*, who with the *Prefect Salust* shared the *manag-*

Amn. xxii. c. 13. Sozom. l. v. c. 20. Theodo-
ret. iii. c. 11. Chrysost.

ment of affairs, was of a very different character. * The Prefect strongly attached to Paganism, but in his morals almost a Christian, and comparable to the great Men of antiquity (o), lent with regret his hand to the Persecution, and strove to soften the rigour of it. † The Count, become an Idolater out of complaisance and ambition, hated the Christians like an Apostate, but with less discretion than his nephew. He thirsted after their blood ; and, if he had been the Sovereign, woud have sought neither for pretext nor evasion to be profuse of it. *Sallust* frequently restrained the Emperor : the Count, even the Emperor sometimes coud not restrain. It appeared as if he hastened to stifle his remorse under the ruins of that Re-

L. ligion

* Greg. N. Or. iii. 90. Sozom. I. v. c. 10. 7. 8. Eunap. V. Max. 85. Theodoret. iii. c. 12. Passio S. Theodoret. inter Acta sincera.

(o) The merit and probity of *Sallust* has reunited the suffrages of both Christians and Pagans. He did honour to the Employments which were trusted to him, and confirmed his reputation by refusing the Empire, which was offered to him, after the death of *Julian*. Some Pagans have reproached him with weakness, βλεψεῖσαν. Eunap. This reproach is easy to be understood, and does honour to his moderation. St. *Gregory* styles him, ἀνδρα Ελληνα μὲν τὴν θρησκείαν, τὸν τόπον δὲ ὑπὲρ Ελληνα, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς δοῦλους τῶν πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἐπαγγεῖσαν. *Sozomen*, who writ near a century after St. *Gregory*, says that *Sallust*'s reputation was still fresh in people's memories.

† Amm. ubi sup. Philost. I. vii. c. 10. Chrysost. cont. Gent. &c.

ligion which he had abandoned. His Commission regarded only the great Church then possessed by the Arians ; but he was so accustomed to prevent or extend his Prince's orders, that he shut up all the rest, or perhaps had done it even before the Emperor arrived at *Antioch*. He seized upon the Priest *Theodoret*, Economist of a Catholic Church ; and not being able to compel him by torments to renounce *Jesus Christ*, he condemned him to lose his head. The same day he repaired to the principal Church, accompanied by two other Apostates, *Felix*, Superintendant of the finances, and *Epidius*, Treasurer of the demesnes. At the sight of the precious vases, given by *Constantius* and *Constantine* : *Bebold*, cry'd *Felix*, with what magnificence the son of Mary is serv'd ! The Count sat down upon the sacred Vases, and profaned both them and the Altar in a manner equally indecent and impious. *Euzoius*, an Arian Bishop, endeavouring to hinder him received a blow. Now let them believe, said this profaner of the Church, that Heaven concerns itself with the affairs of the Christians. After they had ransack'd every thing, they withdrew, and walled up the doors of the Church.

* The next day when *Julian* was apprised of

Passio S. Theodoret. inter Acta sincer. Theodoret.
l. iii. c. 13. Sozom. l. v. c. 8.

(p) Οὐρανὸν μὲν κατὰ τῆς ἵρας τραπεζῆς ἔβαπτε, *Theodoret.*

of the death of the Priest *Theodoret*, executed merely for being a Christian : * *Is it thus, said he to the Count with heat, that you enter into my views? Whilst I labour to bring over the Galileans by gentleness and reason, you make Martyrs of them in my Reign, and under my eyes. They will now brand me in their writings, as they have branded their most odious Persecutors. I forbid you to take away any life on account of Religion, and charge you with the care of making known my pleasure to others.* The Count was thunderstruck at these reproaches. From that very evening he felt himself attacked with a violent cholic, and soon after with an incurable wound in his bowels. The outward flesh nearest to it corrupted, and bred a prodigious quantity of worms. They encreased also within, and by degrees devoured him notwithstanding all the help of Physic, and came out of that mouth defiled by so many blasphemies, with the aliments he took, which found no other passage. During the course of his distemper, which lasted about two months, the Count dragg'd a remainder of life worse than death, in a dreadful alternative of fury against the Christians, and of that vain remorse which is begot only by fear, and which produces only despair. Sometimes staggered by the

L 2

discourses

* Philost. I. vii. c. 10. 12. Chrysost. cont. Gent. Pafio SS. Bonf. & Max. inter Acta finc.

discourses of his wife who was a Christian and zealous, he sent to conjure the Emperor to open the Churches again, representing to him, that it was his complaisance to him, that had precipitated him into this deplorable condition. But Julian imputed his repentance to him as a crime. *I did not shut up the Churches, reply'd that Prince, neither shall I open them. It is not your complaisance to me, 'tis your Infidelity to the Gods that has drawn this misfortune upon you.* Sometimes the Count recalled his strength and his incredulity, to pass the sentence of death upon *Bonosus, Maximinian, and some other Officers*, who constantly refused to remove the Monogram of *Jesus Christ* out of their Ensigns, and place the Idols there. At other times he pressed his Wife to go to the Assemblies of the Christians to pray for him, and to recommend him to the Faithful. But she, whose manly and judicious piety saw in this false penitent only a new *Antiochus*, refusing him this favour, lest, as she said, the divine Justice shoud crush her also; he conjured the God of the Christians to take away his life immediately. That God hearkened to him in his wrath, and took him from the world, at the very moment they were reading to him several Oracles, which promised him he shoud not die. All the City of *Antioch* regarded this death as a visible

visible punishment. *Julian* also made use of the same language in a very different sense.

* This Prince now began his fourth Consulate, in which he took *Sallust*, Count of the East, for his Collegue. The deplorable death of his Uncle augmented in him the inquietude, which several other events, looked upon as Presages, had excited. The first day of *January*, when he went up to the Temple of the Genius to sacrifice, according to custom, the oldest of the Pagan Priests fell down upon the steps and killed himself. An Earthquake had been felt at *Constantinople* and *Nice*. What remain'd of *Nicomedia* had been swallow'd up. At *Rome* they supposed they had found in the books of the *Sibyls* an express prohibition against the Emperor's going out of the Territories of the Empire. The death of Count *Julian* had been preceded by that of *Felix* the Superintendent, who, without any violent effort, had broke a vein, and died with vomiting blood. The People seeing in the public Inscriptions these three Words, *JVLIANVS FELIX Avgvstvs*, that is, *Julian, happy, August*, drew an Omen from thence, and said, that since Count *Julian* and *Felix* were gone before, the Emperor woud soon follow to rejoin them. This idle frivolous remark alarmed *Julian*.

L 3

It

* Amm. 1. xxiii. c. 1. Theodoret. 1. iii. c. 13. Philostorg. 1. vii. c. 10.

It might reasonably indeed give him some chagrin, as it was a Proof of the public hatred.

* The longer he resided at *Antioch*, the more he repented of having chosen as a proper Theatre to display his Virtues in, a City which esteemed them no better than his faults. His serious busy way of Life, divided between the Civil and Military, the affairs of State, private persons, and his Studies, appeared an affected and malicious censure upon the public dissipation of thought, and indolence. His aversion to public shews brought all pleasures into decay. It was with difficulty he vouchsafed to appear once at the Circus. He had seen but six Races, and that with an absent unsatisfied air, which seem'd to reproach his Condescension. He was, they said, a Savage, a Misanthrope, whom nothing coud render sociable. The Politicians seeing him prepare for War, asked if he was sufficiently establish'd in the Empire to undertake Conquests, and if he had not made himself Enemies enough within, without seeking for them without. He has raised a Combustion all over the Empire, said they, by persecuting the Christians. He exposes it to certain ruin, by an imprudent immature expedition. 'Tis a rash Youth inebriated with his Fortune; he abuses his Prosperity, and deserves

Jul. Misop. Amin. l. xiii. c. 12, Greg. N. or. iv. 114.

deserves to be taught by a reverse of it to quit his taste for Adventures.

* These discourses were at least a commendation of the Emperor's clemency, since they were designedly spoke in presence of those who, it was imagined, woud carry them to him. He heard of them without any degree of emotion ; persuaded doubtless, that even those who tax'd him with imprudence, woud have been the first to accuse him of indolence and weakness, if he had remained unactive. His excessive Superstition, the marks of Idolatry stamp'd upon his Coins and Medals, his beard, his walk, his person, what he did, what he did not, public calamities, drought, the barrenness of the earth, every thing to this exasperated People was an inexhaustible fund of Raillery, Songs, Satyrs, and Reproaches. They observed that the scarcity had follow'd him from *Constantinople* to *Antioch*, and that the fountains were dry'd up since he had profaned them. As to the scarcity, Julian had augmented it, by an ill-concerted desire of gaining the affections of the People. It is certain, he fix'd the Corn and other Provisions at much below the usual price, without any regard to the Remonstrances of the Magistrates, who foresaw

* Amin. 1. xxii. c. 12. 14. Zosim. 1. iii. Jul. Misop. Socrat. 1. iii. c. 17. Sozom. 1. v. c. 19. Liban. x. 306.

the inconveniencies of this abatement. He imagined without doubt that by distributing with loss four hundred thousand bushels of corn, which had been brought to him out of *Egypt*, his example would open the Granaries of the Rich, and render them as good Citizens as he was himself. But they bought up the Emperor's corn at the stated price, to sell their own privately at an advanced one. The Merchants gave over, and deserted the City. All Importations were at an end ; so that *Antioch*, which till then had only wanted bread, became destitute of every thing else ; and the Emperor more hated than ever even by the Populace, who make their estimate only by success.

* In the disorders occasion'd by the scarcity, *Julian*, persuaded that the Magistrates did not perform their duty, irritated by the just opposition they had made to his designs, and prompted on by his Flatterers, commanded that the whole Senate shoud be imprisoned. *Libanius* endeavouring to speak in favour of his fellow Citizens, a Courtier told him, he was too near the river *Orontes* to hazard so bold a speech. These Menaces cou'd serve only, says *Libanius*, to dishonour him whose power they pretended to heighten. The Emperor was more humane ; he laboured to convince *Libanius*

* Liban. or. x. 306, 307. Id. de vita sua 43, 44. Amm. l. xxii. c. 14. Zof. Socrat. Soz. ubi sup.

banus, that the Senators had deserved his indignation: But the Sophist pleaded their cause so well, that Julian revoked the order he had given, and esteemed *Libanius* the more. He was convinced he had gone too far; and when he perceiv'd his faults, he had not the false delicacy of the generality of Princes, who return to reason only by fetches and degrees, striving in vain to make the World believe they have never stray'd from it. But it was not easy totally to open his eyes. Julian was resolute as before, in keeping the price of provisions fixt, and shew'd on this occasion, says *Ammianus*, that if he had not the cruelty of his Brother *Gallus* (q), he had at least his obstinacy. He harden'd himself against the general Mutiny, and woud appear to despise it; but in his heart (r) he was distract'd with rage. Perhaps he woud have suffered it to break out, if reasons of State had not come to the assistance of Philosophy. On the brink of an important War, what coud he do with a populous City animated by Famine and Religion? Instead of the sword he drew his pen, and, contenting himself with the revenge of a Philosopher, composed the celebrated Satyr entitl'd *Misopogon*, that is, *The Beard-bater*; a

(q) *Nusquam à proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris, licet incurvus.* *Amm.*

(r) *Coactus dissimulare pro tempore, irā sufflabatur internā.* *Id.*

Manifesto which is, in its kind, as singular as its Author: Where a Sovereign, assuming the ironical style to ridicule his Subjects, seems to throw himself at their feet, that he may heap praises upon them and reproaches upon himself, with great Elegance and Wit, but little Dignity, and much more Truth than he imagined. *Ammianus*, who was of *Antioch*, thinks he heightens too much (f) the Portrait of the Inhabitants of that City. But the Sermons of St. *Chrysostom*, *Ammianus*'s Countryman, delivered twenty years after, serve as a supplement and apology to *Julian*'s text.

* 'Tis thought he was assisted in the composition of this Satyr by *Libanius* his ancient friend, whose head and heart he equally esteemed. He submitted to his Criticism both his actions and his writings. *Libanius*, said he, loves me more than ever my Mother did; he is not attach'd to my Fortune, but to my Person. This Sophist represents himself as a man so disinterested, that, instead of demanding any thing of a Prince from whom he was sure of obtaining every thing, he woud never receive the smallest present. In which, if I am not mistaken, *Julian* is more to be admired than *Libanius*. For to refuse the Emperor's presents, was in some degree to place himself upon

(f) *Probra civitatis infensâ mente dinumerans, ad- densque veritati complura. Id*

* *Liban. de vitâ suâ 41, 42, 43, 44.*

upon a level with him, and to shew an independence as flattering to the vanity of the Subject, as it was mortifying to that of the Sovereign; and the more, as *Libanius* expected to be paid for his disinterestedness with all the attention which a ceremonious friend might exact from his equal.

Julian, on his arrival at *Antioch*, had signified to him the greatest impatience to see him and converse with him. From that moment he seem'd to lose sight of him, and *Libanius* keeping upon the reserve, never appear'd at Court. It is, said he, because I am his Friend, and in no degree his Courtier. One morning, the Emperor going to the Temple of *Jupiter Philius*, saw the Sophist in the crowd without making any endeavours to press through it, though probably he woud have been much displeased not to have been perceived. In the evening *Julian* writ a note to ask what prevented him from coming to him, railing him in a pretty severe manner. *Libanius* return'd his answer upon the same tablet, and in the same style, and kept from the Palace as before. At length, *Priscus* the Philosopher brought about an invitation in form. *Libanius* is sent for, he comes, and *Julian* with an embarrass'd air enters into an eclaircissement, excuses himself upon the multitude of his affairs, and desires *Libanius* to dine with him. The Sophist replies, That

be

be eats no dinner. Well then, we will sup together, return'd the Emperor. I have the head-ach too much, says Libanius, To-day I cannot. But at least, continu'd Julian, you will let me see you frequently. Libanius reply'd, I shall wait upon you when you order me: I do not love to be troublesome. The Emperor promis'd, kept his word, and enjoyed at this price the visits, conversation, applause, and reprimands of Libanius. Having made choice of him for his Panegyrist at the beginning of the year, he applauded the Orator, during and after the Harangue, with exclamations and transports, which must have been thought mean, even if he had not been himself the subject of the Panegyric. He frequently said to Libanius: You never woud receive any thing from me, but I shall regulate that before my departure. I design a present for you which your denials cannot evade. It is time to accomplish my promise, said he one evening after supper. This is my present. I declare to you that your Actions place you in the same rank amongst the Philosophers, which your Discourses give you amongst the Orators. The Sophist certainly had not waited for this Oracle, as he styles it, to form a high idea of his own Eloquence and Prudence: But he was transported to be confirm'd in the possession of it by so important an authority. Julian was persuaded he had given a considerable

derable present, and *Libanius* that he had receiv'd one.

* We may suppose this Rhetorician and the Philosophers who accompanied *Julian*, had a share in those books against the Christian Religion, which that Prince composed during the long evenings, of winter. They were an abstract of whatever the Unbelievers objected to Christianity, and particularly of the Arguments of *Celsus*, *Hierocles*, and *Porphyry*. Though the work was weak and immethodical, yet the delicacy and sprightliness of the style gave it a great vogue, as well as the Purple of the Author. The Pagans exalted it to the skies, and with their *Julian* in their hands, were ready to attack the Christians. Superficial minds, as usual, took Jests for Reason, worn out Sophisms for irrefragable Arguments, and those frequent citations of the Scripture, of which the Author made a shew, for a proof that he was thoroughly vers'd in the Holy Writings, and had not quitted his Faith, without being master of the Cause. The Christians busied in domestic Controversies neglected to answer it; for Incredulity always gains ground by our disputes. They had a specious pretext, *Origen*, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, *Methodius* and *Apollinaris*, had formerly answered all the Arguments. But the ignorant were scanda-

liz'd;

Soc. iii. 23. vii. 27. Cyril. Alex præf. in Jul.

liz'd ; and not being able to discern of themselves whether the silence of one of the Parties concerned arose from weakness or contempt, they were inclined to attribute the Victory to that which had the last word. About the year 400, *Philip of Sida in Pamphylia*, Deacon of the Church of *Constantinople* under St. *Chrysostom* (t), endeavoured to vindicate the honour of Religion. The answer of *Philip* is lost ; and the Judgment that *Socrates* gives of another work of the same Author is not such as to make us regret it. At length fifty or sixty years after the death of *Julian*, St. *Cyril of Alexandria*, though far inferior to that Prince in the art of writing, attack'd this resource of expiring Paganism, and overthrew it. This Father has preserved to us a part of the work which he confuted. These Fragments are less valuable to the Infidels than they perhaps persuade themselves. They will find in them very mortifying concessions (u). The Divines may observe in

them

(t) *Philip* was Priest of the same Church under *Atticus*, whom he endeavour'd to succeed. We may, as I imagine, collect from *Socrates*, that he was but a Deacon when he refuted *Julian*. He had composed an Ecclesiastic History, which contained near a thousand Volumes ; a work, says *Socrates*, equally useless to the learned and the ignorant.

(u) For example, this is a very considerable one. *Julian* endeavouring (l. vi.) to place the Heroes and Gods of

Paganism

them unsuspected testimonies of the antiquity of some (x) particular Tenets, Practices, and Expressions.

Whilst Julian combated the Christian Religion as a Controversalist, he employ'd his Imperial power to defeat one of the most remarkable proofs of it, by undertaking to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem destroy'd by Titus above three hundred

years Paganism above Jesus Christ, speaks thus to the Christians : 'Tis now something more than three hundred years, since Jesus has been celebrated for having persuaded some wretches amongst you. During his life he did nothing that deserves to be mentioned ; unless to have cured the Blind and the Lame, and driven out evil Spirits in the Villages of Bethsaida and Bethany are esteemed great actions. Notwithstanding the injustice of this representation, in which he affects only to mention the least Miracles related in the Gospel ; yet truth forces Julian to acknowledge that Jesus Christ did cure the Lame and the Blind ; after which, as Mr. Fleury judiciously observes, 'tis of little consequence whether he judged those cures miraculous or contemptible. It may also be remarked that (l. x.) Julian always supposes, the Gospels were writ by the Authors, whose names they bear, &c.

(x) Julian (ibid.) allows, for Example, that St. John has clearly taught the Divinity of Jesus Christ. He supposes that the graves of St. Peter and St. Paul, were honoured even from the time of St. John. He complains of the worship the Christians paid to the Dead and to the Cross. He (l. viii.) reproaches them with continually giving to Mary the name of Mother of God, which proves the Antiquity of the word Θεότοκος, that made so much noise in the following Century.

years before. But to comprehend his views distinctly, it may not be amiss to represent in few words the proof which the dispersion of the *Jews* furnishes us; an uncommon proof, to which length of time adds only new degrees of force and clearness. The *Jewish* People who were heretofore such Favourites of Heaven, now banish'd from their Country, every where dispers'd, and every where the object of hatred and contempt, fruitlessly zealous for a worship, the practice of which is become impossible, pour forth to the God of their Fathers, lamentations which that God rejects. This Nation, always crush'd, yet never destroy'd, unable to reunite its own remains, to draw other Nations to it, or to mix it self with them, bears the double character of a visible reprobation and protection. They have preserved nothing of the inheritance of their Ancestors but their Sacred Writings, which are ours also. Those Evidences, which we cannot be suspected to have altered, since they are themselves the depositaries of them, pronounce, and add the reasons for it, many ages before the event, that dreadful Sentence, the execution of which still fills us with astonishment. The ruin of the Temple and Nation is there threatened. The *Romans*, the executioners of the Divine Vengeance, are described. The fact which is to draw it upon them is foretold. This fact is the murder

of

of the *Messiah*, of whom the time, the qualities, and functions are so clearly reveal'd, that the blindness of the *Jews* alone could have mistaken Jesus Christ. Even that very blindness is specified ; their long Captivity described with all its circumstances. It is not to cease till, rousing from their profound lethargy, they shall address themselves to him whom their Fathers crucified, and become the most faithful of his Adorers. Jesus Christ applying the antient Prophecies to himself, foretold the destruction of the Temple and the City, as a chastisement for the ingratitude of the *Jews*, and their refusal to believe in him. The Christian Religion alone can give a reason for the present condition of the *Jews* : and their condition gives a testimony perpetually subsisting to the Christian Religion.

Julian, who was sensible of the force of this Testimony, undertook to deprive us of it, by rebuilding the Temple, and re-establishing that Nation, whom he saw with pleasure as incredulous as ever, and always disposed to second or lead on the fury of the Idolaters against the Christians. This enterprize aimed at no less than destroying at once the Christian and the *Jewish* Revelation. If *Julian* had succeeded, Jesus Christ had no longer been the object of the Old Testament, which, look'd upon in any other light, must have appeared to any but

a few,

a Jew, no more than a heap of vain Ceremonies, Falsities, and Contradictions, the work of Policy, Enthusiasm, and Temerity. The Edifice of Christianity, having now no longer the ancient Revelation for its foundation, woud be left to hang in the Air, and must of course fall to the Ground. 'Tis said also that his design was, when he had defeated the Christians by the Jews, to attack these also in their turn, and to constrain them to associate his Idols with the God of *Israel*. But without giving into dubious conjectures, it is certain that the Emperor, by serving the Jews according to their taste, immortalized himself according to his own. The Temple rising from its ruins, contrary to the whole plan of the Scriptures, woud have been the eternal Monument of a Victory gain'd by Idolatry over the two Religions, whose profession it was to contend with it.

* Julian had writ an insinuating Letter to the whole Nation. He informed them that having found amongst the papers of his Predecessor several schemes for new Taxes designed to be imposed upon them, he had thrown them into the fire, and that he dis-

* Jul. Ep. xxv. & Fragm. Id. apud Cyrill. Chrysost. or. ii. in *Judaeos*. Amm. l. xxiii. c. 1. Ruf. i. 37, 38. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 20. Socr. iii. xl. Sozom. l. v. 23. Philost. l. vii. c. 14. Greg. or. iv iii. Am. brof. Ep. xl.

charged them from the excessive Tributes they had paid heretofore, To the end, says he to them, that enjoying a perfect tranquillity, you may redouble your Prayers for the prosperity of my Empire, to the great God the Creator (y), who has vouchsafed with his holy Hand to crown me Obtain by your intercessions that I may return victorious from the Persian War, to rebuild Jerusalem, that holy City, for the re-establishment of which you have sigh'd so many years ; that I may inhabit it with you, and give honour to the (z) Almighty. This Language was full of hypocrisy ; for Julian upon all occasions spake of the Religion of the Jews, and their Prophets, with the highest contempt ; but they did not penetrate into this, and imagined they had found another Cyrus.

They no longer doubted of it, when they learnt that the Emperor had sent for the Principal amongst them, and had demanded why they did not offer Sacrifices. The Jews replying that they were not allowed to sacrifice except at Jerusalem, and in the Temple, he declared to them, that, by studying their sacred books, he had discovered, that the termination of the Captivity, under which they groaned, was now arrived ; that they ought therefore to return into their Country, and put their Law again in force. This

Prince

(y) Τῷ πάντων οὐείττους χ', δημιουργῷ θεῷ.

(z) Τῷ οὐείττου.

Prince seconding his words with deeds, sent Workmen from all parts to *Jerusalem*, and commanded his Treasurers to furnish the expences necessary for building the Temple, which was to amount to an immense sum. The Governor of the Province had the charge of seeing the Money laid out; and to complete all, *Alypius*, the intimate friend of the Emperor, had the Superintendence of the work, and was upon the spot to hasten the execution.

At this news the *Jews* crowded from all Parts to *Jerusalem*. They already imagined themselves masters of the World, and the insolence of that haughty and vindictive Nation, always ready to break out upon the first dawn of prosperity, already menaced the Christians to put them to the Sword. In so critical a juncture, St. *Cyril* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was expos'd to the severest assaults, both from the Infidels and the timorous Christians. But tho' surrounded by the insults of those, and the alarms of these, still, upon the faith of the Oracles of *Daniel* and *Jesus Christ*, he maintained that the attempt of the *Jews* and *Pagans* woud turn to their own confusion. All appearances were against him. A prodigious quantity of materials was got together. They worked day and night at clearing the place where the old Temple had stood, and demolishing the former Foundations. For this

labour

labour some Jews had caused pickaxes, shovels, and baskets of silver to be made. The most delicate Women were seen to put their hands to the work, and carry off the rubbish in their sumptuous Robes. They had given their Jewels and Ornaments as a contribution towards the expences of the undertaking.

* The demolition was completed, and without intending it, they accomplished in the highest sense the words of *Jesus Christ.* THAT THERE SHOUD NOT REMAIN ONE STONE UPON ANOTHER. They began to lay the new foundations. But dreadful clouds of fire sprang out of the ground, whose redoubled flashes consumed the workmen. The same thing happened upon every fresh attempt, and the obstinacy of the flames rendering the place inaccessible, obliged them to abandon the work for ever (a). These are

* Id. ubi sup.

(a) *The Text of Ammianus is too valuable not to be transcrib'd entire.* Ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneiva certamina, obsidente Vespasiano posteaque Tito, agrè est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiocheni, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro Praefectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque Provinciæ Rector, metuendi globi flammarum, propè fundamenta crebis assaultibus erumpentes, fecrè locum, exustis aliquoties operantibus, inaccessum: hocque modo, elemento definitius repellente, cessavit incendium, Amm. 1. xxxiii. c. 1.

the words of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a contemporary Author, a judicious and faithful Historian, by Religion a Pagan, and attach'd to the service of *Julian*. The Christian Authors enter into a longer detail, and relate several miraculous circumstances. I omit them, as I do not write an Ecclesiastical History. I shall only observe, that there is no fact more certain in all Antiquity. Besides *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, *Sozomen*, *Socrates*, and *Philostorgius*, it is attested by three cotemporary Fathers, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Chrysostom*, and St. *Ambrose*. The first relates it in one of his discourses against *Julian*, composed the same Year: the second about twenty years after, before the whole City of *Antioch*; and the third (b) not long after the second, mentions it as a thing of public notoriety, in writing to the Emperor *Theodosius*. If we join the Testimony of *Ammianus* to theirs, the fact is not to be contested without establishing the wildest historical Pyrrhonism (c).

We might perhaps alledge upon this subject the authority of *Julian* himself, since he

(b) *Non audistis, Imperator, quod cum jussisset Julianus Tepari templum Hierosolymis, Divino qui faciebant repagulum igne flagrarunt?* *Ambro. Ep. ad. Theodos. Imp.*

(c) We cannot oppose to these testimonies the silence of St. *Cyril of Jerusalem*, because we have no work of that Father, which was not writ long before the time of *Julian*.

says (*d*) that the Temple of the *Jews* had been thrice destroyed, which it is not easy to comprehend, if he does not reckon as a third destruction the catastrophe which happened under his Reign. He says also, that he endeavoured to rebuild it: and those words in the mouth of a Sovereign, seem strongly to denote the confession of an unsuccessful attempt. Besides, this Prince had the mortification to see many of the *Jews* embrace Christianity, convinc'd by so decisive a Miracle. Some on the contrary, who had firmly imagined that the time of their restoration was now arrived, or that it never woud, out of despair revolted to Paganism. The Body of the Nation continued to verify the Prophecies by the hardness of their hearts. We don't learn that *Julian* was more affected by it than they were. Destined to unite all extremes, in Theurgy, Presages, and Dreams he was as credulous as one of the Vulgar, and in Miracles a Free-thinker. He and the Philosophers of his Court made use, no doubt, of all their Learning in Physics, to deprive the supreme Being of so signal

(d) Τί περὶ τοῦ νεοῦ Φίσεω, τοῦ ταρ̄οῦ αὐτοῖς τρίτου θεατραπέντος, ἐγειρόμενη δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν; ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς τον οὐκ ὀνεδίζων ἐνίσιος, δύε τοσυτοῖς ὑπερον Χριστοῖς ἀναστήσασι διευούθην αὐτὸν χ. τ. λ. *Jul fragm. ep.*

We see here that *Julian*, far from concluding from what had happened at *Jerusalem*, that the Christian Religion was true, infers from it that the *Jewish* Revelation was false. A strange effect of prejudice!

signal a Prodigy. Nature has always been the resource of the Incredulous : But she serves the purposes of Religion so opportunely, that they ought at least to suspect her of collusion.

* Julian's great avocations contributed to prevent him from reflecting upon this event, and to make him less apprehensive of its consequences. He proposed to begin his march towards the conclusion of winter, to prevent the Enemy, and begin the operations of the Campaign before the spring. In the preceding year he had been writ to from the Court of *Persia* to offer a plan of a Negotiation. He who then govern'd this vast Empire was *Sapor II.* one of the most celebrated Kings that have ever worn the Crown of the *Artaxerxes*. He was the Son of *Hormisdas* the II. and had begun to reign even before his birth. For at the death of *Hormisdas*, being yet in the womb of his Mother, he was elected by the faction of the Grandees of the Kingdom, in prejudice of his eldest Brother, whom I shall hereafter mention. The *Magi* having assured them that the Queen had conceiv'd a Male Child, they placed the Tiara upon the belly of that Princess, and the Infant was pro-

claimed

* Ann. 1. xxiii. c. 1. xxvii. c. 12. xix. c. 3. &c. Agathias 1. iv. Theodoret. 1. xi. c. 30. Jul. or. 1. Liban. or. iii. 133. See M. de Tillemont Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vii. and Mem. pour l'Hist. Eccl. tom. vii. sur S. Simeon de Persé.

claimed King by the name of *Sapor*. He was a Prince of insupportable haughtiness and cruelty, but subordinately to his interests. His dissimulation was equal to his pride; he knew how to make proper advances to those he wished to gain, and to shew humanity when it was to attain his ends. History attributes to him a valour without example (e) amongst the Sovereigns of his Nation. In Battles and Sieges he personally exposed himself, and fought like a hardy Soldier. Yet his bravery must have been uncertain and momentary, if it is true that in some encounters he fled at the sight of the Enemy. But I believe what was only design'd as a stratagem, has been mistaken for cowardice and a panic fear. He was superstitious (f), impious, even to shooting an arrow against Heaven, (g) a Persecutor of the Christians, but openly, and glorying in being so; as lavish of their blood as *Julian* was sparing of it. 'Tis reported that he put to death in his Dominions two hundred and ninety thousand of them. I doubt not but the reader perceives in this character some strokes of resemblance with that of *Julian*. But nature appeared rough and unpolished in this Bar-

M barbarian

(e) *Novo et nunquam ante cognito more.* *Amm.*

(f) *Consilia tartareis manibus miscens, et præstigia-tores omnes consulens.* *Idem.*

(g) Being obliged to raise the siege of *Nisibis*, and to acknowledge that God fought for the *Romans*, he shot an arrow against Heaven. *Theodoret.*

barian King born upon a Throne ; whilst education, books, and adversity, had perfected the good qualities of the Roman, and corrected or disguised the bad. Towards the conclusion of *Constantine's Reign*, *Sapor* undertook to reunite to *Persia* the five Provinces situated between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which the Emperor *Maximianus Galerius* had conquered from King *Narses* his Grandfather. *Constantius* continued this war. The two Nations did each other infinite damage without any effect. Cities were taken and retaken, Provinces ravaged, and Multitudes made Captives. The *Romans* though frequently overcome, had from time to time some appearance of advantage : The *Perians*, though usually victorious, gain'd no Battle that was absolutely decisive. None had a more real loss than *Sapor* himself. His Son the presumptive Heir of the Crown, being made Prisoner at the Battle of *Singara* ; the *Romans*, who became daily less worthy of that name, in their fury at seeing a Victory snatch'd from them of which they thought themselves certain, basely massacred him. *Sapor* lived and reigned seventy years. He must have been about fifty three when *Julian* drew his Forces against him.

This Monarch notwithstanding his hatred of the *Romans*, and the superiority he had preserved over them from the commencement of the war, address'd himself to *Julian*, made

made overtures of a Peace, and left him to nametheconditions. But *Julian was posseſſ'd
 with a spirit of Conquest, and determined to add to the Princes whom he had subdued,
 (b) the King of Kings, whose place is among the Stars, brother to the Sun and
 Moon. These are the titles that *Sapor* attributed to himself. The Emperor therefore
 rejected with contempt the Letter which was presented to him, saying he would ne-
 gotiate in person. As he had found the fi-
 nances exhausted, and was at immense ex-
 pences for the service of Paganism, not
 knowing how to defray the charges of the
 war, he had laid a Tax upon those who re-
 fused to sacrifice. His design was to employ
 the treasures of the Christians in conquering
Perſia, and the leisure his Conquest shoud
 produce, in destroying the Christians. Se-
 veral Nations sent to offer him their assistance.
 He treated their Ambassadors with civility,
 but declined their offers. *The Romans have*
no need of succours, said he, 'Tis their Pro-
 vince to give it to others. The *Saracens* a
 wandring People in the deserts of *Arabia*,
 warlike and self-interested, (i) dangerous
enemies

* Amm. I. xvii. c. 5. xxiii. c. 2. xiv. c. 4. xx. c.
 10. Lib. or. viii. 244, 245 or. x. 255. Socr. I. iii.
 c. 19. c. 13. Jul. Ep. xxvii. Sozom. I. vi. c. 1.
 (b) *Rex Regum Sapor, particeps Siderum, frater*
Solis et Lunæ. Amm.
 (i) *Nec amici nobis unquam, nec hostes optandi.*
Amm.

enemies and burthensome friends, came to complain of their Pensions being retrenched. Accustomed to dispose of themselves to the highest bidder, to go over sometimes to the *Perians*, and sometimes to the *Romans*, and most frequently to divide themselves between those two Powers, they looked upon themselves as necessary now, and expected to be bought. *Julian* rejected them and told them, that a warlike Emperor had no gold, but steel only : This answer made them join against the *Romans*. There were some however who serv'd in *Julian*'s Army, that Prince having writ to them, that they might, if they thought proper, come and join him.

Arsaces King of *Armenia*, was the only one of all the Allies, who was sent to, to raise a powerful Army to be ready to act according to the orders which shou'd be signified to him. This King was united to the Empire both by the protection he received from it, and the singular honour he had received in marrying *Olympias*, widow of the Emperor *Constans*, who was Brother to *Constantius*. *Julian* who hated him, because he was a Christian, writ a very haughty and severe letter to him, in which he treated *Constantius* as impious, and a coward, extolling himself as a Prince favoured by the Gods, and worthy of the Empire. Upon this occasion he forgot himself ; for usually, he affected

affected to speak with decency of his Predecessor, and to impute to his Ministers and Favourites all the misconduct of his Reign: But his design was to mortify *Arsaces*, by outraging him in the person of his Benefactor. *Julian* also insulted him upon his Religion, declaring, if the orders which were sent him were not punctually executed, the pretended God whom he adored shoud not be able to secure him from proper chastisement.

10

THE
L I F E
OF
J U L I A N
The APOSTATE.

BOOK the Sixth.

* **T**HE Roman Troops having filed off towards the *Euphrates*, pass'd that River, and dispers'd themselves in different places, in such a manner that they might re-unite upon the Emperor's arrival. As to him, preserving an impenetrable secrecy, he let nothing transpire, either of his plan, his route, the order of his march, or the day of his departure. When he was just quiting *Antioch*, he named for the Government of *Syria* *Alexander of Heliopolis*, a rash and cruel Man. I am sensible, said he, that he has no merit to command; but

* Amm. xxiii. c. 2. Liban. or. x. 311. De vita sua.
44. Jul. Ep. xxvii.

'tis Antioch's demerit to obey him. He departed on the fifth of *March*, conducted by the Senate and People, who conjured him to forgive what was pass'd, wishing him a happy Expedition, and a triumphant return. Julian told them with sharpness he woud never see them more, and that if God spared his life, he shoud pass the ensuing winter at *Tarsus*. *I perceive*, added he, pointing to *Libanius*, *you place your confidence in his favour*; *you depend upon deputing him to me*; *but I shall take him from you*. At these words having embraced with an unmoved countenance the Sophist, who melted into tears, Julian took the road to *Litarbas*, a Village of the territory of *Chalcis*, about fourteen or fifteen leagues from *Antioch*. He * arrived the next day at *Berkæa*, where he endeavoured to pervert the Senate, which was almost entirely Christian: But his zeal and eloquence failed of success.

The Chief of this illustrious Assembly, whose name History ought to have preserved, had just then turn'd off, and disinherited his son, who had embraced the Religion of the Sovereign. This son had gone to meet Julian to lay open his complaints, and Julian had promised to procure his reconciliation. The Emperor therefore made an entertainment for the Persons of greatest distinction in the City; affecting to place on each side

THEODORET. M. 4. OF

* Theodoret. l. iii. c. 22. Jul. ep. xxvii.

of him the Father and Son, upon the same bed with himself. About the middle of the feast he addressed his speech to the Father, and said to him : *I think it unjust so force the conscience : Oblige not your Son to follow your Religion, as I do not compel you to follow mine.* How my Lord, reply'd the Father, can you speak to me in favour of this wretch, this enemy of God, who has preferred falsehood to the truth ! My friend, resumed Julian with an air of goodness, let us have no irreverences. And then leaning towards the Son, You see, said he, I can do nothing ; but since you have no longer a Father in him, I design to supply his place.

From *Berrhaea* the Emperor repaired to *Batnae*, a delightful residence which might wye with *Daphne*, where he breathed with pleasure the odours of incense, and found a great number of Victims prepared. He thought the devotion of the Inhabitants too showy and too much laboured. 'Tis probable he was sensible that he had a greater share in it than their tutelar Deities, *Jupiter* and *Apollo*. At *Hierapolis*, the Capital of the Province of *Euphrates*, he lodged with a Pagan named *Sopater*, a Disciple and Relation of the Philosopher *Jamblichus*. *Sopater* had shewn such an attachment to Paganism as shoud have cover'd with shame many Catholics under *Constantius*, and Christians of all Communions under *Julian*. For

having

having more than once had the honour to receive under his roof *Constantius* and *Gallus*, he constantly relisted the pressing sollicitations they made him to change his Religion. We cannot therefore be surprized, if Julian had an affection for him, though perhaps he had never seen him.

* This Prince passed the *Euphrates* near *Hierapolis*, and appeared in *Mesopotamia*, before the Enemy imagined he had left *Antioch*. Leaving on the left the City *Edessa*, too3 thoroughly Christian not to be disagreeable to him, he chose rather to go to *Carrae*, a City celebrated for a Temple dedicated to the Moon, and still more so for the defeat of *Crassus*. It was in this Temple, that Julian, as is pretended, offered the odious Sacrifice already mentioned. According to *Amianus* he sacrificed only after the usual manner of the Country. It is said, that having shut himself in the Temple with *Procopius*, one of his Relations, he gave him, before the Altar, the Purple Robe, exhorting him to take possession of the Empire, if he heard the news of his death. *Procopius*, who under the Reign of *Valens* caused himself to be proclaim'd Emperor, and perished miserably, perhaps invented this particular to give himself some kind of title to the Empire.

* *Amim.* I. xxii. c. 9, ro. xxii. c. 11. *Theodoret* I. iii. c. 26. *Sozom.* I. iv. c. 16. *Zosim.* I. iii. c. 1. *Lab.* or. x. 384.

Two high roads lead from *Mesopotamia* into *Persia*; one on the right by *Adiabene* crossing the *Tigris*; the other by *Affyria* along the banks of the *Euphrates*. Julian, to surprize the *Persians*, had caused magazines of provision and forage to be prepared upon each road, though his design was to enter into *Affyria*. But lest *Mesopotamia* shoud remain exposed to the incursions of the Enemy, he left *Procopius* and *Sebastian* there with thirty thousand of the choicest Troops. These two Generals had orders to remain on the west side of the *Tigris*, till they coud join King *Arsaces*, with whom they were to ravage all the frontiers of *Media*, and by that rout join the Emperor in *Affyria*. Julian after having mounted upon an eminence, to view his Army, the most numerous that any Emperor had led against the *Persians*, (for it was composed of sixty-five thousand men) made a false march towards the *Tigris*, and then drew back to the *Euphrates*. The channel of this River was covered, and as it were filled up by the Fleet, which was to accompany the Army into the heart of *Affyria*, and which *Ammianus* does not scruple to compare to the Fleet of *Xerxes*. It was computed there were above a thousand Transports loaded with provisions and machines for Sieges, fifty Ships of war, and as many Barks designed for bridges. Amongst the incredible quantity of stores which Julian

lian had embarked, there was nothing either for pleasure or delicacy ; nothing but what was absolutely necessary. He perceived one day amongst the followers of the Army several camels loaded with liquors and exquisite wines. He forbade the Camel-drivers to pass any further : *Take away, said he, these poisonous sources of voluptuousness and debauchery. A Soldier ought not to drink wine, (k) which his arms have not won from the Enemy, and I shall myself conform to a Soldier's life.*

* In the beginning of April Julian entered into *Circusus* or *Circessus*, a strong and regular fortification, situated in a Peninsula form'd by the confluence of the *Aboras* and the *Euphrates*. He received there letters from his old friend *Sallust*, Prefect of the Praetorium of Gaul, conjuring him not to take the Field, till the anger of the Gods was appeased, who seemed by several Prodigies to declare against the *Persian* war. But the dye was cast. The Emperor pass'd the *Aboras* with his whole Army upon a bridge of boats, which he immediately order'd to be broke, that he might leave behind him no resource to cowardice and desertion. He pass'd in his road the tomb of the younger *Gordian*, who, upon his return from a glorious expedition, had lost the Empire (4) *Amn. l. xxii. c. 5. Zosim. l. iii.*

pine and his life by the treason of Philip his Successor Julian, always Religious in his own way, made Libations and Sacrifices to this unfortunate Prince, whom the *Roman Idolatry* had placed in the number of the Gods.

Whilst he continued his march, a band of Soldiers presented to him a lion of an enormous size, which having advanced towards the Army, they had killed with their arrows. Confidence and joy took possession of Julian's heart; and, as if he had seen the King of Persia laid dead at his feet, he no longer doubted of victory. The *Tuscan* *Auspices* made a different judgment. They maintained that since the war was offensive, and the lion had come forward to meet the Army, this presage threatened the Emperor's life. But the Philosopher's contradicted them with their usual haughtiness. These two sorts of People whom Julian could not live without, had from the beginning very different ideas of the success of the war. Some common accident threw them daily into disputes. The *Auspices* in every thing found *Prognostics*, and those fatal ones. The Philosophers endeavoured to lessen their Significancy by accounting for them from physical causes. The first alledged their books, the rules of their art, and former examples: The latter, not daring to attack the rules, disputed the application of them, opposed experience to experience, and in conclusion

elusion came off by favourable explications; Julian decided in favour of the Philosophers, who artfully flatter'd his passion without visibly opposing his Superstition.

* The Troops animated by their own courage, and full of esteem for their General, wanted no harangue to inspire them. But Julian woud no more lose an opportunity of haranguing than of fighting; having therefore assembled the whole Army with the sound of clarions and trumpets, elevated according to custom upon a kind of platform of turf, and surrounded by his principal Officers, he began by attacking a ridiculous prejudice, which was privately spread about by some ill disposed Persons. They affected to say, that the Roman arms had never penetrated into *Paria*, and endeavoured thus to discourage the Multitude, which is always apt to look upon every thing that is unexampled as impossible. This was so gross a falsehood, that I shoud almost suspect Julian to have supposed the report, to shew his knowledge in History, by his refuting it. After having proved that he only directed his march in the steps of his most illustrious Predecessors, he added, "These great Men were excited by the love of glory alone; But we have also the desire of revenge. The defeat of our Armies, the ruins of our Cities, the greatness of our losses, all join to inspire

non in belli opere, sed in belli ex parte bello quas
nisi Amm. Zos, ubi sup.

“ us with it. The whole world fixes its eyes
“ upon us. Let us answer its expectations;
“ Let us recover satisfaction for what is past,
“ prevent the future, and by toiling for the
“ happiness of the Republic, assure to our-
“ selves immortality. You shall see me every
“ where, by the assistance of the Gods, dis-
“ charge the duties of a General, a Subal-
“ tern, and a Soldier. I march, I trust,
“ under happy auspices: but if fortune pre-
“ pares for me a fatal event, I shall die
“ content to have given up my life for my
“ Country, like a *Curtius*, a *Mutius*, or a
“ *Decius*. It is time we shoud exterminate
“ this obstinate and dangerous People,
“ whose swords are still dyed with our blood.
“ Our Ancestors never submitted to a re-
“ pulse: when any Power gave them um-
“ brage, they never ceased their attacks, till
“ they had destroy'd it. They employed
“ whole ages in subduing *Carthage*; and
“ *Carthage* when conquered, still alarmed
“ them till it was levelled with the gronnd:
“ *Numantia* was treated with the same ri-
“ gour. And, to go back to more distant
“ times, what shall I say of the *Fidenæ* and
“ *Veii*, those Rivals of infant *Rome*, who
“ have been so totally destroyed, that 'tis
“ with difficulty we believe, upon the faith
“ of our own Annals, that they cou'd ever
“ have obstructed her grahdeur? Behold
“ examples which the study of Antiquity
“ has

" has rendered familiar to me. Our business
 " is to imitate them. But I ought to pre-
 " caution you against one error, too often
 " fatal to our Armies, which is, the love
 " of plunder. Let each Man march with
 " his Company, ready to follow his Colours
 " at the first signal of Battle. Whoever shall
 " presume to stir from his rank shall have
 " his hamstrings cut, and be left upon the
 " spot. To speak freely, I only fear the
 " stratagems and artifices of the Enemy.
 " As to the rest, when we have happily
 " terminated the War, I shall not make use
 " of the Prerogative of Princes, who pre-
 " tend themselves above the Laws. I pro-
 " mise to give an account of my conduct to
 " whoever shall demand it. Animate your-
 " selves therefore, if possible, with new
 " courage; be posseis'd with the liveliest
 " hopes; prepare to share with me in dan-
 " gers and fatigues; and, above all, never
 " forget that the justice of our cause is a
 " strong presage of Victory."

* At these words the Soldiers raising
 their bucklers shouted aloud, that Julian
 was invincible, and that they coud know
 neither dangers nor fatigues under an Em-
 peror, who himself set the example of what
 he commanded. None expressed more ar-
 dour than the Gauls. They remembered to
 have seen him cut to pieces the Germanic
 Nations,

¶ Amm. 1. xxiii. c. 5. xxiv. c. i. Zosim. 1. iii.

Nations, or constrain them to sue for Peace. Julian confirm'd these happy dispositions by distributing to every Soldier a hundred and thirty pieces of silver, and the next morning at break of day, he caused his Army to advance in three columns into *Affyria*, that of the baggage being in the middle. He had detached fifteen hundred light-horse in the front and on the flanks, to prevent surprizes, always to be apprehended in an unknown Country, and particularly from an Enemy whose stratagems had frequently triumphed over *Roman* valour. The right Wing commanded by *Nevitta* coasted along the *Euphrates*, and was also covered by the Fleet which never sailed before the Army, and, notwithstanding the frequent windings of the River, never remained behind it. The left Wing marched in close ranks in the plain with the Horse under the conduct of *Arinthaeus* and *Hormisda*; *Dagalaiphus*, *Victor*, and *Secundinus* formed the Rear Guard. As to *Julian*, he was every where; in the Centre of the Army where he commanded in person; at the head of the Standards; in the Rear, preventing the most licentious from disbanding, with an air of goodness and an endearing behaviour: But, when it was necessary, assuming a severe countenance, and the voice of authority. Attended by a light armed Troop he went to reconnoitre the woody places and search into the valleys and

and thickets, trusting only to his own eyes, with too great hazard of his Person. But admired and adored by the Soldiers, who love to discover in their General that kind of courage which is proper to themselves.

* Amongst the Officers to whom Julian had given the command of his Troops, the most remarkable was Count Hormisda, eldest brother to king Sapor. 'Tis so uncommon a thing to find in the service of the Roman Army, one who shoud have filled the Throne of *Perſia*, that I must be excused if in few words I give the recital of his adventures. King Hormisda II. solemnizing, according to usual custom, his birth-day, had invited all his Nobility. The Prince his Son, to honour the Feast, brought a great quantity of game; for he was a great Hunter, and the first man in the world at throwing the Javelin. The Nobility did not rise up at his approach. History does not mention the reason of this. But the young Prince was so irritated at it, that he threatened them with the fate of *Marſyas*. This menace was too learned to be immediately apprehended at the Court of *Perſia*. Some one, who was acquainted with the Greek Fables, informed them, that *Apollo* had flay'd alive the Satyr *Marſyas*. They dissembled their resentments for the present. But as soon as the King's

* Zosim. l. ii. Zonara. Amm. loc. cit. c. 139. Paus. SS. Bonof. & Max. inter Acta finc.

King's eyes were closed, they seized upon *Hormisda*, and confined him in a Fortress in fetters and under a strong Guard. I have already related in what manner and upon what assurances they crowned his brother *Sapor*, who was not yet born.

After several years strict confinement, the Wife of *Hormisda* found means privately to convey a file to him, conceal'd in a fish. He frees himself from his Irons, takes the habit of an Eunuch, passes through the Guards whom the Princess had got drunk, and escapes to the Court of *Armenia*, from whence he repairs to the Emperor *Constantine*. That Prince heaped on him riches and honours; trifling recompences for the loss of a Crown; but doubtless the reflections that *Hormisda* had made during his captivity, and the Christian Religion, which he afterwards embraced, stifled all sentiments of revenge and ambition in his breast. We do not find that he either solicited the *Romans* to place him upon the throne, or that they, in the War they had with *Sapor*, set up his Title for a pretext. *Sapor* having sent his Wife to him in an honourable manner, he fixed himself with the *Romans* for ever, and successively deserved the esteem of three Emperors, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Julian*, by his courage, penetration, fidelity, and extraordinary strength and address. He attended *Constantius* in his journey to *Rome*,
and was with him in his journey to *Rome*. That

That Emperor one day saying he designed to have a horse made like that which was in the square of *Trajan*: *You must begin then* (l), *my Lord*, *said Hormisda*, *by building him*, *if you can*, *as fine a Stable*. This Emperor, who had never seen *Rome* before, was never satisfied with admiring the magnificence and beauty of it. *Hormisda* was asked what he thought of this superb City : *I find* (m), *reply'd he*, *only one thing that pleases me*, *which is*, *that they die here as well as elsewhere*: An answer highly ill-natur'd, or truly Christian. 'Tis best we shoud suppose the latter. The Conversion of *Hormisda* was sincere, since he had the courage to continue a Christian under an Apostate Emperor. He entered into the prisons to visit the Confessors, and recommended himself to their Prayers (n). Such was *Hormisda*, who was

(l) *Ante Imperator stabulum tale condi jubeto*,
si vales. Equus quem fabricare disponis, ita late succedat,
ut iste quem videmus. Amm.

(m) *Interrogatus, quid de Roma sentiret, id tan-*
tum sibi placuisse aiebat, quod didicisset ibi quoque
honestes mori. M. Henry de Valois mentions, upon this
passage of Ammianus, a conjecture which he found in
the margin of a manuscript, reading *displacuisse* instead
of placuisse. According to this it shoud be translated :
I observe only one disagreeable circumstance, *viz.* *that*
they die here as well as elsewhere.

(n) *Hormisda* comes qui creditit (it was in the Greek, no doubt, *διπλος*, which may signify one who had been long since a convert) et ipse ad carcerem sua præsentia

of great service to Julian, and woud have been of still greater, as I shall mention hereafter, if Julian woud have preferred a glorious Peace to uncertain Victory.

* It was upon the word of Hormisda, that the Inhabitants of the Castle of *Anathan*, situate in an Island of the *Euphrates*, opened their gates to the Emperor, who treated them with humanity, and sent them into *Syria*, with their families and effects. He burnt the Place, having fixed it for a rule, to lay waste all he became master of, that he might not weaken his Forces by leaving Garrisons. Two other Castles, situate also in the midst of the River, but stronger than that of *Anathan*, were summoned to fortender. Those who kept them, promised to do so, as soon as the interior parts of the Kingdom had declared for the *Romans*, engaging themselves however to suspend all acts of hostility. The Emperor chose rather to content himself with this answer, than to lose his time and risque his reputation before Places, the taking of which woud be of little consequence. It was only in the Islands

that
fondā jussit claustra patescere. Et cum aperuissent carcerem, et universos salvos vidisset et hilares, et Deo et Christo gratias agentes, ait ad illos Hormisda comes.

Regate Dominum pro me peccatore, ut salvi simus. Passio

SS. Bonofi, &c.

* *Anon. lib. xxiv. c. 1. 2. Zosim. l. iii. Liban. or.*

xxvii. Sozom. l. vi. c. 1.

that he coud meet with any resistance. The report of his march had spread terror over the open Country. The Villages and Towns were abandoned. As he wish'd, as much as possible, to furnish the expences of the War by the War itself, without touching the Magazines of the Fleet, he permitted no desolation to be made till after each Soldier had abundantly provided for himself. As soon as he let them loose, they burnt the corn, tore up the vines, stav'd the casks, and spoil'd all the wine they coud not carry off. The unhappy *Assyrians*, who had taken refuge on distant mountains, saw their fields on fire, and the most fertile and richeſt Country upon earth in a moment changed into a horrid Desert, unpassable even to the Authors of the ravage, if they wanted to return through it. But *Julian* doubtless imagined, that a facility of returning back serv'd only to make men cowards ; that ways were always open to the Conqueror, and that the Conquered deserved to find no retreat. He paſſed the *Euphrates* at a place named *Baraxmaka*. The left Wing began then to march along the ſide of the River, and the Horse to cover the right. After having burnt the Towns of *Diacira* and *Ozogardan*, the Inhabitants of which were fled, excepting ſome Women who were put to death by the Soldiers, the Emperor gave two days reſpoſe to his Army.

* He had ravaged *Affyria* for near fifteen days with impunity, without hearing any thing of the *Perians*, without meeting a single Party. Their inaction was not so much a snare to draw him too far, as the usual effect of their wretched Policy. They maintained no regular Troops. Whilst the King assembled the Nobility, and the Nobility levy'd their Vassals, a considerable time was lost, which an Enemy of any vigilance woud not fail to improve. They had no longer to do with *Constantius*, whose slow and timid steps ended only in coming to shew himself, upon their frontiers, when his coming coud be of no use, and in viewing at a distance the Towns he had suffered to be taken. *Sapor*, terrified at *Julian*'s activity, was gone in person to re-assemble all his forces. Having yet no Army to oppote him, he coud only send into the Field a Body of Horse commanded by the *Surena*, (the Title given to the Generalissimo of the *Persian* Troops) rather to harrass *Julian*, and to disturb him in his march, than to attempt any thing decisive. One night the Emperor sent Prince *Hormisda* out to make discoveries. The *Surena*, who had intelligence of it, placed himself in ambuscade upon his rout with the *Saracene Podosaces*, Chief of the Tribe of the *Assanites*, a famous Parti-

* Zosim. l. iii. Amm. l. xxiv. c. 2, Greg. or. iv.

fan, too well known to the *Romans* by his Pillages. *Hormisda* and his Troop woud have fallen into the Ambuscade but for a small branch of the *Euphrates*, which they coud not ford, the River being swoln by the melting of the snows in *Armenia*. The *Per-
sians* seeing *Hormisda* retire, woud have pur-
sued him, and were likewise stopp'd. But
having without doubt found some place that
was fordable, they overtook him in the
morning. The Prince wheel'd about and
charg'd them vigorously. He kill'd some,
put the rest to flight, and rejoined the Body
of the Army.

* The *Romans* encouraged by this first exploit, which they regarded as the Omen and first fruits of Conquest, arrived at the Town of *Maceprata*. There the *Euphrates* divides itself into two large branches, of which the most considerable, being the natural bed of the river, waters the Country of *Babylon*; the second dug by art has a communication with the *Tygris*, and leads to *Ctesiphon*, the usual residence of the Kings during winter. *Julian* undertook to pass over this latter Arm. The *Per-
sians* appeared in good order on the other bank, and prepared to charge them with Slings and Arrows. The Emperor, ready at various Stratagems, detach'd some Troops under the general *Victor*, who concealed his pas-
sage

* Amm. Zosim. ibid. Lib. or. x. 315.

sage by favour of the night, fell upon the Enemy in the Rear, cut them to pieces and dispersed them entirely. The Army pass'd the River upon boats without obstacle ; and having upon their left the Canal which leads to the *Tygris*, encamped before *Pirisabora*, next to *Ctesiphon* the greatest and most populous City of *Affyria*. It was upon an Island, and surrounded with a double wall flank'd with turrets ; over all was rais'd the Citadel placed upon the summit of a mountain ; its fortifications of brick cemented with bitumen formed a perfect circle, except in the place which nature herself had fortified by steep rocks, the feet of which were washed by the *Euphrates*. Julian having invested the City with his whole Army in three lines, they began to shoot on both sides. The besieged had hung above their parapets a network wove with goats hair, which repelled the arrows and stones, and might upon a case of necessity deaden the force of some of the javelins lanced from the machines. They wore bucklers of ozier covered with skins ; and all the parts of their Armour were so completely joined, and so adjusted to their bodies, that they appeared like men of iron. Sometimes they demanded to speak to Prince *Hormisda*, but when he appeared, they loaded him with reproaches, calling him Deserter, Exile, Traitor to his Country, and Slave to the *Romans*.

* Julian

* *Julian*, who had vainly flattered himself that he shoud reduce them by his presence alone, commanded towards the evening that they shoud bring forward the Machines, and endeavour to fill up the ditches. At day break the *Perſians* terrified at the work of the *Romans*, and the ſucceſs of their batteries (for the battering ram had already made a breach in the Tower at one of the angles) abandoned their double wall to retire into the Citadel. There they were warmly attacked. The *Catapultæ* and *Balista* began to play. The Besieged defended themſelves with no leſs vigour, with arrows and pieces of rocks poured from the ramparts. *Julian* ran through this dreadful hail, covered with the bucklers of his Guard, and followed by the bravest of them up to the gate of the Citadel, which was covered with iron. By his looks and his voice he animated those who endeavoured to force it open, and woud not quit this dangerous poſt, till he found himſelf unable to remain there any longer. He returned without the loſs of a ſingle man, or receiving the leaſt wound; his air ſomewhat diſconcerted for having failed of ſucceſs: But he had nothing to reproach himſelf but his temerity. The Emperor immediately caused an *Helepolis* to be raiſed. This was the moſt formidable and moſt decisive Machine of the

N ancient

* *Iidem ibid.*

ancient Artillery. It had procured the name of *Poliorcetes*, that is, Conqueror of Cities, to King *Demetrius* its inventor. At the sight of this moveable Tower approaching with majesty to thunder down the ramparts, the Besieged sincerely implored the mediation of *Hormisda* and the Emperor's clemency. They were permitted to go where they thought proper with their apparel and some money. The Conqueror found in the Place large quantities of Arms and Provisions. He destroyed it, and burnt every thing which he coud not convert to his own use.

* The joy of this Conquest was disturbed the next day by a disaster which happened to his advanced Parties. The General of the *Persians* surprized them, killed some, amongst whom was a Tribune, and carried off a Standard. Word was brought of this to *Julian* during his repast. He flew burning with anger towards the Enemy, put them to flight and recovered the Standard. He broke upon the spot two Tribunes, who, preferring their safety to the honour of the *Roman* name, had fled. As to the Soldiers, though he was almost alone (o) in the midst of the numerous guilty who were all armed, he commanded they shoud be decimated, and was obey'd.

The
Amm. l. xxiv. c. 12. Liban. or. x. 315. Zosim.
I. iii.

(o) Αὐτὸς γένεται φέρεται; οὐδὲ τρεῖς; Liban.

The taking of *Pirisabora* in less than three days must have required an harangue, even from a General less an Orator than Julian. He ascended his Tribunal to thank the Army, and promised a hundred pieces of silver to every man. The sum appeared inconsiderable. Murmurs and seditious complaints were heard on all sides. "Behold the *Perians* (said Julian with a majestic but displeased air) Behold the *Perians* in the bosom of opulence ; 'tis from them you must get riches. The Republic is ruin'd from the time unworthy Ministers persuaded Princes to purchase of the Barbarians a shameful Peace, and the liberty of returning to their pleasures. The Finances are in disorder, the Provinces uninhabited, and the Cities drain'd. As to myself, of all the Treasures of my family, I have nothing remaining but an intrepid heart. An (*p*) Emperor who places his esteem in virtue only, is not ashamed to

N 2

confess

(*p*) *Nec pudebit Imperatorem cuncta bona in ani-
mi culta ponentem, profiteri paupertatem honestam.*
Nam et Fabricii familiari re pauperes rexere bella
gravissima, gloriâ locupletes. Hæc vobis cuncta po-
terunt abundare, si imperterriti, Deo, meque, quan-
tum humana ratio patitur, caute ductante, mistius ege-
ritis. Sin resistitis ad seditionum revoluti dedecora pri-
stinarum, pergit. Ut Imperatorem decet, ego solus,
confecto tantorum munerum cursu, moriar stando,
contempturus animam quam mihi febricula eripiet una.
Aut certe discedam : nec enim ita vixi, ut non possim
aliquando esse Privatus, &c. Am.

“ confess his poverty ; it is noble to resemble the Fabricii, and to look upon glory as the only Treasure. Here honour and riches contend with each other for your acceptance, provided you submit yourselves to the conduct of God, and, trusting to my care, behave with more gentleness and submission. But if acted by a spirit of Mutiny, you pretend to give me Laws ; go, renew the infamy of your ancient Seditions. I alone, after having completed my course of glory, will die with my arms in my hand, like an Emperor, full of contempt for a transitory life, which a fit of fever might have raged from me. — At least, I will ease you of my presence ; for I have lived in such a manner as to be able to return again to a private state. We have here, and I think it an honour to me, several Generals of uncommon merit, accomplished in all the Arts of War, capable of commanding, and of making themselves obey'd.”

This discourse, in which a noble indifference appeared mix'd with a decent pride and modesty, changed all murmurs into protestations of obedience, and all complaints into praise. The Soldiers gently struck their pikes against their bucklers as a sign of applause, and all with one voice exalted to the skies, Julian's authority, and the greatness

greatness of his sentiments. 'Tis certain, no Warrior ever expressed himself more heroically. He seemed to live, to breath only for his Country and for glory. (q) *So may I subdue the Persians; so may I establish the Empire tottering in all its parts.* These were his usual attestations, which kept the Soldiers in heart and inspired them with ardour. Did any discontent arise, his eloquence soon dispersed those flying clouds; and faults of this kind never failed to turn to advantage, because every delinquent when he came to himself endeavoured to exceed his usual behaviour, that he might efface his former errors.

* The Army, having marched four miles, found the Country laid under water. The Barbarians had opened the sluices, which confined the waters of the *Euphrates*, and served to distribute them as occasion required to water the fields. They imagined they woud stop the *Romans* by opposing to their progress a vast Marsh, the more dangerous as it was cut through by several Canals.

Some, according to *Libanius*, proposed to *Julian* another rout, in which there was not a foot of water to pass. To which having replied, that he rather chose to be wet than perish with thirst; he advanced the first

N 3 with

(q) *Sic sub jugum mitteret Persas, sic quassatum re-crearet Orbeum Romanum.* *Amm.*

* *Zosim.* I. iii. *Amm.* ubi sup. *Liban.* or.

with some few Troops and Pioneers, whom he had taken to try the ground and render it passable. He filled up the ditches, widened the ways, and felled the palm-trees, with which the Country was covered. With these trees, with leather casks and boats, he made a great number of bridges, to the end, that, marching in several columns, those who came last might not find the ground too deep, and too much broke up. After this he returned to fetch the Army, which, notwithstanding all his precautions, found their march difficult enough. But the Emperor's example, who was seen in the midst of the water and mire, lessened the fatigue, and cut off all pretence of complaint. I imagine, if the *Perſian* General had waited for the *Romans* at the opening of the Marsh, he might have prevented their coming out of it: But he took no precautions against an attempt which he thought impracticable. It was with this enterprize as with many others; the appearance of its impossibility occasioned its success.

Soon after the Emperor went into an Island to reconnoitre the City *Maogamalba*. He was on foot, attended only by a few light-armed Soldiers. Ten *Perſians*, who had sallied out of the Place by a postern gate, having crept secretly along the sides of the hill attacked *Julian*, and his Escorte. As he

Am. xxiv. c. 4. Zosim. I. iii.

was distinguished by his habit, two of them ran upon him with their sabres lifted up, and discharged two strokes at him, which he parried at once with his shield: And at the same moment with a surprizing presence of mind he thrusts his sword into the side of the one, whilst his followers pierced the other with a thousand stabs. He returned to the Camp loaded with spoils, and was received, as in Triumph, in the midst of acclamations. The Town extremely strong in itself, was defended by men of bravery, resolved to hold it out to the last gasp, and to bury themselves in its ruins. But how could a Place of this importance be left behind? This inconvenience fixed Julian's resolution, already irritated by the danger he had run. Justly apprehensive of the Persian Cavalry, which was very formidable in a flat and open Country, he made the Army pass over to the other side of the *Euphrates*, to encamp upon a more commodious spot, and free from the annoyance of the Enemy. After which having formed a bridge to join the Island to the Continent, he caused the Place to be invested, the ditches to be filled up, platforms to be erected, Batteries raised, and Mines to be sunk. Different Officers had the direction of these works. He reserved to himself the attacks, and the care of defending the Machines against the fire and sallies of the Enemy.

IN 4 ^{1603. 4. 2. viii. * whilst}

* Whilst the Infantry was employ'd in the Siege, the Cavalry guarded the Avenues, scoured the Plains in small Parties, took Prisoners, and provided subsistence for the Army at the Enemy's expence. All was ready for the attack, and the impatient Soldiers demanded the signal. The arrival of the General Victor, who was returned from reconnoitring the Country, and had found it clear as far as *Ctesiphon*, transports them with joy, and redoubles their impatience. The *Perians* clad in plates of iron, proof against the javelin, prepare to receive them. The *Romans* closely united, covered with their bucklers, and forming what was called a Tortoise, advance notwithstanding the continual discharge of the Archers and Slingers: But when under the covert of hurdles of oziers which they bore before them, they had gained the ditch, and began to batter the wall; they then rolled down upon them enormous masses of stone, shot arrows armed with fire, and cast heaps of burning bitumen. They are constrained to retire; but the Artillery supports them, and clears the Ramparts by lancing balls of stone, which took off three or four Men at once. They regain the ground they had lost. The Besieged appear again upon their Fortifications, and once more repulse the *Romans*, who cease not to return to the charge,

* Amm. Zosim. ib.

charge, till the excessive heat forces them, towards noon, to go to their repose. The next day they continue the same, without Victory declaring on either side. At an instant when the attack and defence seem'd to be slackened and almost given over, a battering ram newly raised, by accident struck down one of the highest towers, which by the violence of its fall forced away part of the wall. This was a fresh signal. The *Per-
sians* and *Romans* both fly to the breach.

Then were displayed all the prodigies of valour and stratagem, which the desire and hope of Conquest coud produce on one side, and the love of Liberty on the other. At length, after much effusion of blood, weariness and night discontinued the fight.

* During the Action word was brought to Julian, that his Miners had carried on their subterraneous Galleries beyond the Ramparts, and that they waited only for his commands to spring up into the City. He suffered most of the night to pass, and towards morning he gave the Assault; at the same time causing an attack to be made in another part, that the Enemy employed in two places might not hear the noise of the Miners nor oppose their entrance. Whilst the Barbarians defended themselves, singing, according to their custom, the praises of their King, and braving the Emperor,

N 5 di milo S. mina * say-

* Idem, ibid. Liban. 318.

saying that he might sooner scale up to Heaven than take *Magasanalha*; the Legions entring by the mouth of the Mine surprized them, massacred them, and threw them down the Ramparts.

The victorious Army, like a torrent which had broke its banks, overflowed the Place. All in their way fell under the Iword without distinction of Age or Sex. In vain the Emperor cried out, Spare the effusion of blood, and make Prisoners: They are deaf to his voice, and insensible even to their own interest: They hear nothing but fury and revenge. When Julian saw himself master of the City, his vanity, which till then was unsatisfied, judged this worthy of exercising the eloquence of *Libanius*. (7) At length, said he with pleasure, *here is work for the Sophist of Syria*. According to ancient custom, he distributed Crowns to those who had distinguished themselves, and spake in their praise, in presence of the whole Army. He distributed the booty in proportion to each Man's merit and industry. As to himself, he was contented with three pieces of gold, which he laid up carefully, and with a dumb boy who was sprightly and well instructed to express himself by signs with great facility and grace. They woud have presented him some Captives of un-

(7) Εφεγέλο γοῦν, θέτερ οὐ πρόσθετον, ὡς εἴη τοῦ Σύρου δεκάδος αὐθορμην εἰς οὐρανού, οὐδὲ οὐ λέγειν. *Liban.*

common beauty, as in *Perſia* the Women usually are; but, wisely upon his guard against a passion, which has frequently triumphed over Conquerors and sometimes over Philosophers, he denied himself the sight of them.

* The *Romans* continuing their rout on the left of the *Euphrates*, after some losſes forced a Castle, before which exposing himſelf as usual, he had nearly lost his life. They were now not far diſtant from the Capital ſeated upon the *Tigris*, and fronting the Canal of the *Euphrates*, the course of which Julian had followed. At the place of their conjunction, upon the ruins, or rather near the ruins, of the famous *Seleucia*, (5) there was a City named *Cocbe*. The *Tigris* only diuided it from *Ctesiphon*. The *Roman Fleet* coud not ſail down this River, without falling in between the two Cities, and loſing all communication with the Army on land. Julian was unwilling to halt and form the Siege of *Cocbe*. He had read in History, that *Trajan* and *Severus* had formerly cut another Canal above *Seleucia*, called *Naarmalcha*, that is, in *Syriac*, the River of the King or Emperor. No traces of it remain-

ed,
* Amm. l. xxiv. c. 5. 6. Greg. N. or. iv. 115.
Liban. or. x. 319, 320, 321. Zosim. I. iii.

(5) See the note of *Henry de Valois* upon the paſſage of *Ammianus*, and *M. de Tillemont*, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire eccléſiaſtique*; upon the ſubject of *St. Simeon of Perſia*, Tom. vii. Par. 1, Art. x. Note 7.

ed, so carefully had the *Perſians* filled it up. *Julian* by comparing the Traditions of the Country with his own reading, at length discovered it, and having again hollowed that ancient bed, which was thirty Stadia in length, he let the *Euphrates* into it. The Arm which led to *Selencia* was dried up, and the Fleet fell down happily into the *Tigris*. To have gained the River was nothing; it must be paſſed. The height of the banks, and the multitude of the Enemy which lined them, rendered the paſſage ſo difficult, that it ſeemed absurd to attempt it. *Julian* accuſtomed to ſhew a ſteady countenance in difficult ſituations, affected the moſt perfect tranquillity. He amuſed both his Army and the Enemy by military games and horse races, willing to deceiver them both at once, and meditating the bold- eſt action of all antiquity. He had ordered ſeveral vessels to be unloaſed, under pretext of viſiting the Magazines; but in reality to make a ſudden embarkation, without gi- ving leifer for reſection.

One evening after ſupper he held a Coun- cil of War, and declared that he woud force the paſſage that very night. The Officers, alarmed at the Propoſal, ommitted no- thing to diſſuade him from it. *What ſhall we gain by delay*, ſaid *Julian* to them. *These banks which frighten you will ſink no lower, and the number of Barbarians will continual-*

ly increase. *Blows must be exchanged; but I answer for the success.* He caused as many Troops as the Fleet woud contain to embark immediately. Five vessels have orders to go off first. They are soon out of sight. But when they approach the banks, they are saluted with a storm of burning Arrows, which sets them immediately on fire. The Flames, which they saw arise, spread consternation through the *Roman Army*; though distance and the obscurity of the night hindred them from distinguishing the objects. *They are safely landed,* cried Julian with an air of assurance that made him believed: *This fire is a signal concerted between them and me.* 'Tis our business now to support them. Immediately the Fleet fell to their Oars and put off with surprising swiftness. The *Romans* come up in time to save their Companions and extinguish the flames. Too far engaged to retire back, they brave the Stones, Slings, and Darts of all Kinds, which were lanced from above. After an obstinate attack, they at length gain the shore, and draw up. The *Barbarians* driven from their Post, ranged themselves at some distance. Julian marched on directly to them, defeated them, and forced them to the Gates of *Ctesiphon*. They lost about two thousand five hundred Men, or, according to *Libanius*, six thousand; and the *Romans* only seventy or seventy five.

As

As an act of Thanksgiving for this Victory, the Emperor woud have offered a Sacrifice of ten Bulls to *Mars* the Avenger. But nine of the Victims fell of themselves, before they arrived at the Altars. The tenth broke its bonds and escaped. It was with difficulty brought back, and nothing was seen in his entrails but threatening Presages. *Julian* gave a loud cry; and as it was one of the madnesses of Paganism to pass sometimes from the most abject Superstition to the most audacious Impiety, this Prince, who possessed and united all the different follies of his Religion, flew into the most furious rage against *Mars* (t), and protested before *Jupiter* that he woud never sacrifice more to that ungrateful Deity.

Thus determined to finish his Conquest in spite of the God of War, he deliberated whether he shoud form the Siege of *Ctesiphon*. The City was reputed impregnable, and King *Sapor* with all the forces of his Kingdom was daily expected there. Besides neither the King of *Armenia* was arrived, nor the two Generals whom *Julian* had appointed to meet him in *Affiria*. *Arfaces* engaged in his own private affairs, and disgusted at *Julian*, woud not quit his own

(t) *Quibus vixis exclamavit indignatus acriter Julianus, Jovemque testatus est, nulla Marti jam sacra fac- turum: Nec refecravit, celeri morte præventus.*
Junian.

frontiers. As to *Sebastian* and *Procopius*, disputes and misunderstandings, almost inevitable between Leaders independent of each other, had detained them in *Mesopotamia*. Julian found himself too weak to make any attempt upon *Ctesiphon*; and fearing to be inclosed between that Capital and the Enemy's Army, he contented himself with laying waste the neighbouring Countries: He challenged the *Ctesiphontins* to Battle. But in vain did he hope by styling them cowards, to draw them into the open field: They always answered him under the protection of their walls, that if he was desirous of fighting, he might go and meet the great King. That Monarch had no more inclination to try his forces with Julian than the inhabitants of *Ctesiphon*. He had such an apprehension of his power, that he was ready to yield up part of his Kingdom to save the rest. An Envoy from *Sapor* came to *Hormisda*, embraced his knees, and conjured him in the most endearing manner to have pity on the King his brother, to be a Mediator for him, and negociate a Treaty of Peace upon any terms. *Hormisda* flew to the Emperor, believing he brought agreeable news; Julian's purpose was fixt, resolving to act the part of *Alexander* to the last. He refused to hearken to any proposition: nevertheless as he apprehended, if

this

• Liban, or. x. 522. 301. Amm. ub. sup.

this refusal got air, the Army woud grow remiss in a War, which they knew had no other cause than the Ambition of their Sovereign, he enjoined *Hormisda* to secrecy, and intreated him silently to dismiss the Envoy of *Sapor*, by making him pass for a Friend who had come to pay him a visit. Under an incapacity of reducing *Ctesiphon* (u), the Emperor determined to return up the *Tigris*, in order to meet the Succours he expected, the arrival of which woud have enabled him to undertake any thing he pleased. It was worth his curiosity likewise to see the plains of *Arbela*, where the Conqueror of *Darius* gave the decisive blow to the first Monarchy of the *Perians*. What woud not *Julian* have given to have engag'd *Sapor* in the same place, and to have added his Trophies to those of that Hero, with whom his Flatterers woud compare him ! But the *Tigris* was so rapid, that he was obliged to employ above half his Troops to draw up the Fleet ; which, notwithstanding all this help, advanced extremely slow. The Army of *Mesopotamia* not arriving, this long and painful rout served only to regain the Frontiers of the Empire, without having acquired an inch of ground. No. 3 has written that old one is not a fit thing (w). There is here a break in *Ammianus*, the text of whom woud have greatly enlightened this important part of *Julian's Life*, I have put together, as well as I was able, what I found in other Authors.

thing could be less agreeable to Julian's Inclination. He fruitlessly vented his wrath against those who failed him in his necessity, and depended wholly upon himself. But upon what could he determine?

* Whilst he was in a state of irresolution, a *Persian*, of distinguished birth, being determined to die, if it was necessary, to save his Country, came and delivered himself into his hands. He was a Man in years, artful and designing, and brought with him other Fugitives proper to act the under parts in the stratagem he meditated(x). He feign'd that he had fallen under the displeasure of his King, and was fled for an Asylum among the *Romans*. After having insinuated himself into Julian's affections by a pathetic recital of his pretended misfortunes, accompanied with protestations of a sincere zeal for the Emperor, and an irreconcileable hatred against *Sapor*, he declar-

* Greg. N. Or. iii. 90. 115, 116, Sozom. I. v. c. 13. Philost. I. vii. c. 14.

(x) We have reason to be surprised that neither *Libanius* nor *Zosimus* make any mention of this Fugitive. *Ammianus Marcellinus* certainly mentioned it in the part that has been lost. We shall see a proof of this below. *Aurelius Victor* and *Rufus Festus* speak positively of it in their Abridgments of the *Roman History*. 'Tis more than probable that *Libanius* and *Zosimus* chose to draw a curtain over an event which does no honour to Julian. They woud have blistr'd to confess that their Hero had given blindly into a snare so grossly laid.

ed he had address'd himself to the *Romans* with the more confidence, as he coud render them masters of *Persia* if they woud follow his counsels. " My Lord, said he (y), " you have brought the Kingdom within a " hair's breadth of destruction. Your ac- " tions have spread that terror and dismay " into all hearts, which constantly presage " the fall of Empires. The Sovereign is in " Consternation. Not that he has any thing " to fear, so long as you only coast along " the Rivers, subservient only to your Fleet. " He will take care to keep far enough " from thence. But he is not ignorant that " a Conqueror like you can easily disen- " gage himself from those fetters, which " retard your valour from displaying itself. " To say the truth, what use have you for " this incommodious train, and these su- " perfluous Magazines, which enervate the " Soldiers' courage? Warriors ought to " have no expectations but from themselves " and their swords. At the sight of these " Vessels, the refuge of indolence and sloth, " the Soldier gives way to every fancied " indisposition, and realizes it. Whilst one " half of your Army have exhausted them-
selves

(y) Part of this harangue is translated from St. *Gregory Nazianzen*. I imagined I might without scruple put into the mouth of this Deceiver, the other reasons, which, according to *Libanius*, determined *Julian* to burn his Fleet.

“selves in dragging along the other, and
“struggling against the *Tigris*, you might
“have joined the Enemy; and *Sapor* woud
“have been dispossesfed of his Throne.
“No one is more thoroughly acquainted
“with the ways. I will serve you as a
“Guide. We shall stand in need of Provi-
“sions for four days, as we must pass a
“Desert. Hasten, therefore, my Lord;
“the Victory is infallible. My head shall
“answer for the truth of my words: and
“I expect no recompence for my zeal, 'till
“I have given proof of it.”

* Such were the discourses of this artful Man, and *Julian* had the credulity to believe him. An extreme embarras disposes the mind to seize upon the first expedient that presents itself. This was glorious, bold, and uncommon. It gave *Julian* an addition of twenty thousand Soldiers; for that number had been constantly employ'd about the Fleet. This new reinforcement in some degree compensated for the absence of his Generals. His imagination already over-ran all the Provinces of *Perse*, and penetrated even to the *Indies*. In this fatal delusion, he who had so frequently read *Herodotus* and *Plutarch*, recollect'd neither the famous deceit of *Zopyrus*, nor that of the Fugitives who occasioned the ruin of *Crassus*. *Hormisda* represented

* Idem ibid. Amm. ubi supra. Liban. or. x. ubi sup. Zosim. l. iii.

fested that they ought not so easily to confide in the People of his Nation ; that a *Persian* was capable of every thing, and regarded all things lawful to save his Country and his King. But he was not hearkened to. *Julian* commanded provisions to be provided, not for four, but for twenty days, and caused them to set fire to the Fleet. The execution of this order excites a general murmur. They enquire of each other, if the Emperor is in intelligence with the *Persians*. He himself begins to open his eyes. He commands the fire to be extinguished, and the Fugitives to be put to the Torture. The principal Actor had disappear'd (2) ; the others confess a Plot form'd to destroy the *Romans*. As to the Fleet, none of it could be preserved, but about a dozen of Barks which had been separated from the rest, and which were to have been convey'd upon carriages for particular occasions.

Julian supported with unshaken constancy this fatal misfortune, so afflicting and mortifying to his vanity and self-love. As he had taken a much larger quantity of Provisions than the perfidious *Persian* had advised him to, he did not despair perhaps of joining *Sapor*, and making himself Master of his Kingdom by a decisive Battle, before

(2) *Tortique per fugia aperte faterentur se, se felisse.*
Amm. A proof that he had spoke of this deceit in those passages which are wanting.

they were entirely consumed. With this design he quitted the *Tigris* (a), and began his march with the greatest speed across a rich and fertile Country. But the *Persians* set fire to the forage, and all the corn that was already ripe. The burning of the fields put a stop to the *Romans* for some days. It was difficult to advance, dangerous to retire, to find provisions impossible. What they had brought decreased every moment. No step could be taken without insult. The Army grew discouraged, and *Julian* conceal'd under an air of tranquillity, the highest inquietude.

* To animate his Soldiers' Courage, and inspire in them a contempt of the Enemy, he produced the Prisoners for a public Spectacle. The *Persians* in general (q) were slender, lean, had a down look, and a pale and livid complexion. These were perfect

Skeletons.

(a) What rout *Julian* took after he left the *Tigris*, it is impossible to determine. *Ammianus* is not particular enough: *Classe cum non oporteret abolitā*, says that Author, *Julianus consociato fretus exercitu, cum armatorum nulli per diversa distingerentur, numero potior, ad interiora tendebat, alimenta affatim opulentis suggesteribus locis. Quo cognito, hostes ut inedia nos cruciarent, &c.*

* *Amm. l. xxiv. c. 8. xxiii. c. 6. xxv. c. 1. Greg. N. or. iv. 116.*

(q) *Graciles pene sunt omnes, subnigri, vel livido colore pallentes, caprinis oculis torvi, &c. Captivos graciles suapte natura, ut pene sunt *Perse*, et macic jam confectos. Amm.*

Skeletons (c), perhaps prepared for this Ceremony by an involuntary abstinence. *Behold*, said the Emperor, pointing to them, *the sort of Animals whom our Warriors honour with the title of men. They are wretches, who, as soon as we march to them, throw down their Arms to save themselves by flight.* But neither the mean appearance of the *Persians*, nor even their cowardice, though it had not been exaggerated, could drive away the horrors of famine, with which the *Romans* found themselves visibly threatened. When the Prisoners were retired, it was deliberated what resolution shoud be taken. The Multitude blindly exclaim'd that there was no resource but to return from whence they came. But *Julian* opposed it with all his power, and those that had the most sense made them observe, that even if they shoud succeed in passing the *Tigris*, the Army cou'd never subsist in a burnt-up ravaged Country, half under water by the increase of the Rivers and overflowing of the Torrents, not to mention the gnats and other Insects which the heats produce in those marshy Countries. Their biting is insupportable, and their number so prodigious, that the air is darkned by them. It was much easier

(c) *En quos Martia ista pectora viros existimant, deformes illuvie capellas et terras, atque, ut crebri docuerunt eventus, antequam manus conferant, abjectis armis vertentes semet in fugam.* *Amm.*

easier to decide what rout shoud not be taken, than to find one secure enough to unite every suffrage. As human prudence was at a loss, they consulted the Gods, and the Gods seemed to condemn all that was proposed to them. At length, after many Sacrifices and Consultations, it was determined that they shoud endeavour to gain the *Corduene*, a small Province to the south of *Armenia*, subject to the *Romans*.

They had scarce entred on their march on that side, when the King's Troops began to appear. Their presence, far from discouraging the *Roman* Army, served only to give them fresh spirits. If the Barbarians harraf'd them by hot and frequent Skirmishes, this boldness cost them dear. In all rencounters the *Romans* had the advantage. The 22d of *June*, the *Perians*, tired with procuring themselves so many fruitless defeats, waited for *Julian* in a place named *Maranga*. Their innumerable Army was commanded by the two sons of the King, and several Lords. *Julian* ranged his in the form of a Crescent; and lest the discharge of the Archers shoud put his Wings in disorder, upon whom all the success of the Battle was to depend, as soon as he was within arrow-shot, he ordered them to advance hastily, and charge the Enemy's Front. The *Perians* for some time stood

the

the shock of the *Roman* Infantry: but little accustomed to close engagements, they were at length put to flight. On their side the loss was considerable, and very slight on the *Romans*. Unfortunately *Julian* had in his Camp an Enemy far more formidable than the *Persians*.

* The Famine began to grow insupportable; so that they were obliged to distribute the provisions which the Tribunes and Counts had provided for themselves. The Emperor set the example. Whilst they prepared for his supper a little porridge (*a*) which a common Soldier woud have despised; sensible of others misery, and forgetful of himself, he distributed in those Tents, where the scarcity was most felt, the provisions that were designed for his Table. On the night of the 15th or 26th of *June*, after some moments of a slight and disturbed sleep, he awaked according to his custom to compose: for even in these unhappy circumstances he was still an Author. Whilst he was profoundly meditating upon some abstracted idea of Philosophy (*e*), says *Ammianus*

* Amm. I. xxv. c. 2.

(*a*) *Portio pultis exigua etiam munifici fastidienda Gregorio.*

(*e*) *Cum somno, ut solebat, depulso ad æmulationem Cæsaris Julii quædam sub pellibus scribens, obscuro noctis altitudine sensus cuiusdam Philosophi teneatur, vidit squalidius, ut confessus est proximis, speciem*

been seen. Julian woud neither submit to this authority, nor to the entreaties they made him to defer his departure for some hours. He brake up the Camp as soon as it was day. Hunger doubtless got the better of superstition.

* The *Perſians* had ſo ſufficiently learnt at their own expence the inequality of their Cavalry to the *Roman* Infantry, that they durſt no longer wait for them, or attack them in the field. Reduced to stratagems, and forming ambuscades, they followed and coasted round the Army, keeping out of ſight, and watching it from the tops of the hills. The *Romans* marched in Columns, not in close order, because the ground did not permit it; but with their flanks well covered. The Emperor was gone before to reconnoitre the Country. He was unarm'd, either by reaſon of the heat, or through a presumptuous confidence, or vain ostentation of courage. On a ſudden he is informed that his Rear-guard is attack'd. He flies thither, ſnatching a Buckler hafily; but forgot his Cuirass. Immediately a fresh information recalls him to the Van-guard. On the other ſide, a body of *Perſian* Cavalry with ſome Elephants falls on the left Wing, and forces it to give way. Whilſt Julian gives orders to all, and flies to every part, his light Infantry, who had advanced

to support the left Wing, forces the *Persians* to wheel about. The Emperor seeing them take to flight, gives himself up to his usual ardour, with as little precaution as if he was invulnerable. With hand and voice he animates his men to the pursuit. They cry out to him to retire. At the very moment a dart flung by a Horseman grazes upon his arm, and piercing through his ribs, goes into his liver. He endeavours to pull out the dart; but cuts his fingers, and sinks down from his horse. They run to his assistance, and carry him off upon a Shield. The Physicians, and in particular his Friend, the faithful *Oribasius*, employed all the resources of their Art. As soon as the wound was dressed, feeling himself a little eas'd, he demanded his horse and arms (f) to return to the Enemy; but his weakness and the loss of blood constrain'd him to stay.

Neither his wound nor his retreat had in the least slacken'd the Soldiers courage. On the contrary, though they were blinded by the dust, and the heat was insupportable, 'tis impossible, to express the fury with which they rush'd on for vengeance, like madmen, without regard to any thing else but their sorrow and despair. The *Persians* on their side made continual discharges, pre-

(f) *Magno spiritu contra exitum certans arma poscebat et equum, ut revijo pratio suorum fiduciam repararet.*

ceded by their elephants, which terrified both the horses and men. The clashing of iron, and the shock and shouts of the Combatants, the panting of the horses, and groans of the wounded, were heard from far. They fought so obstinately on both sides, that the slaughter did not cease, till night prevented them from seeing each other. Great numbers of *Persians* remained dead on the spot, amongst whom were fifty *Satrapæ* or Noblemen, with the two principal Leaders, *Merena* and *Nobodares*; an advantage not much short of a complete Victory, and perhaps a decisive one, if *Julian* had lived long enough to have made the proper use of it.

* This Prince did not at first regard his wound as mortal. An oracle had formerly predicted, that he shoud finish his days in *Pbrygia*, which *Julian* understood of the Province in *Asia Minor* bearing that name. But having enquired the name of the Place where he was, as soon as he knew it was called *Pbrygia*, (g) he concluded he was struck with death. Those who were accustomed to be about his person were assembled in his tent, with sorrow in their hearts and in their countenances. All shed tears, even the Philosophers. *Julian* extended upon

* Amm. ibid. Liban. or. x. 323.

(g) *Philostegrius* calls the place where *Julian* died *Rhadia*. There is perhaps an error in his Greek.

on a Mat covered with a Lion's Skin, (his usual bed) was the only one that expressed a firmness of mind. " My dear Companions, (b) said he to them, Nature demands again what she has lent me ; I repay it to her with the joy of a debtor, who discharges himself, and not with the sorrow and regret which the generality of Mankind think inseparable from the condition I am in. Philosophy has convinced me, that the Soul is never truly happy till it is delivered from the chains of the Body, and that we ought rather to rejoice than to afflict ourselves, when the noblest Part of us is disengaged from that which degrades and debases it. I consider also, that the Gods have frequently sent death to the Just, as the greatest recompence, with which they coud crown their Virtue, I receive it as an act of favour. They are willing to spare me difficulties, under which doubtless I shoud either have sunk, or com-

O 3 " mitted

(b) 'Tis certain Julian made a long harangue before his death : *Cunctantem animam multa suos adductus effudit.* These are the terms of *Rufus Festus*. In the condition he was in, these efforts, no doubt, shortened his Life some hours. A Man vain as he was, resolv'd to make a figure to the last breath, persuaded that he shoud die a violent death, and doing all that was necessary to fulfil that destiny, may be justly suspected of having prepared his harangue long before.

“ misted some action unworthy of myself.
“ I die without remorse (i), for I have
“ lived without crime, as well in the time
“ of my disgrace, when I was banished
“ from Court, and confined in obscure and
“ and distant retreats, as since I have been
“ raised to the Supreme Power. I have
“ looked upon the Dignity with which I
“ was invested, as an emanation of the
“ Divine Power. I imagine I have preserv-
“ ed it pure and spotless, by governing the
“ People committed to my charge with
“ clemency, and neither declaring nor
“ maintaining war, but upon just grounds.
“ If I have not succeeded, it is because
“ success depends ultimately on the good
“ pleasure of the Gods only. Persuaded
“ that the happiness of the Subject is the sole
“ end of all equitable Governments, I have
“ detested Arbitrary Power, that fatal source
“ of the corruption of manners, and of the
“ fall of Kingdoms. I have always had
“ pacific views; (k) you are conscious of it.
“ But as soon as my Country raised her
“ voice, and called me forth to dangers,
“ I obey'd with the submission of a son to
“ the absolute commands of his mother.
“ I looked danger in the face with a steady
“ eye;

(i) Nec me gestorum poenitet, aut gravis flagitiis
recordatio stringit.

(k) From this passage we may judge of Julian's
sincerity.

“ eye ; I rushed into it with pleasure. I
 “ shall not disguise from you, that I have
 “ been long since foretold, I shoud die a vio-
 “ lent death. Therefore I thank the eternal
 “ God, (1) that he has not suffered me to
 “ perish either by a Conspiracy, the pains
 “ of a slow disease, or by the cruelty of a
 “ Tyrant. I adore his goodness to me,
 “ that he snatches me from the World by a
 “ glorious death in the midst of a course
 “ of Glory ; for if we consider rightly,
 “ 'tis equally base to wish for death when it
 “ is necessary to live, and to regret the loss
 “ of life when it is time to die. My strength
 “ fails me ; I can speak to you no longer.
 “ As to the election of an Emperor I shall
 “ not bias your choice ; mine might be
 “ wrong, and perhaps, if it was not fol-
 “ lowed, might be the ruin of the Person
 “ I should name. But as a good Citizen,
 “ I wish to have my Place fill'd by a wor-
 “ thy Successor.”

* Having spoke in this manner with much
 tranquillity, he gave orders that his Body
 shoud be carried to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and

O 4 distri-

(1) *Sempiternum* *veneror* *numen*, *quod* *non* *clan-*
destinis *infidiis*, *nec* *longâ* *morborum* *asperitate*, *vel*
damnatorum *fine* *decedo*, *sed* *in* *medio* *cursu* *florenti-*
um *gloriarum* *hunc* *merui* *clarum* *è* *mundo* *digressum*.
*Æ**quo* *enim* *judicio* *juxta* *timidus* *est* *et* *ignavus*, *qui*,
cum *non* *oportet*, *mori* *desiderat* ; *et* *qui* *refugiat*,
cum *sit* *opportunum*.

* Amm. *ibid.* Chrysost. *cont.* Gent. *Liban.* *ibid.*

distributed his private effects to his most intimate friends. *Anatolius*, Master of the Offices, was of that number. Not seeing him he asked for him. The Prefect *Sallust* replied *Anatolius* is happy. *Julian* understood he was slain, and was deeply affected at the death of his friend, though he seemed unconcerned at his own, and expressed his displeasure that any shoud be afflicted for him. For seeing all about him disconsolate and in tears, he reproved them with authority, particularly the Philosophers. *What meann'ss*, said he, *to weep for a Prince, who is going to be re-united to Heaven and the Stars?* While all with violence to themselves suppressed their groans, he engaged himself in a dispute upon the excellency of the Soul with *Priscus* and *Maximus* (m). His wound opened again, and he breathed with difficulty. He asked for cold water, and as soon as he had drank it, he expired without a struggle; about the middle of the night which preceded the 27. h. of June, 363. Thus died this unhappy Prince, throwing himself in his false Virtues, after having pronounced his own Funeral Oration. *Julian* was aged thirty one years, eight months

(m) *Ipse cum Maximo et Prisco Philosophis super animorum sublimitate perplexius disputans, hiante latius suffossi lateris vulnera, et spiritum tumore cohidente venarum, epotâ gelidâ aquâ quam petuit, medio noctis horrore vitâ facilius est absolutus. Amm.*

months and twenty days. He had reigned something above seven years and a half, if we compute from the day he was declared *Cæsar*; about three years after he had assumed the Title of *Augustus*; and only one year, eight months and twenty-three days since he had peaceably possessed the Empire. In him the Family of *Constantius Chlorus* was extinct.

* His death was visibly a copy of that of *Socrates*; but a copy less easy and less natural than the Original. Though it may appear glaring in the eyes of Pagan Philosophy, it is not the less terrible in the eyes of Faith, even exclusive of certain circumstances, which I imagine have been invented to render it more shocking. 'Tis pretended, that, when he felt himself wounded, he believed he saw Jesus Christ; that he filled his hands with his blood, and threw it up against Heaven, bursting out into these Blasphemies: *Ibou hast conquered, than Gailean. What dost thou pursue me even here? Well, I bore again renounce thee; satiate thy self with my blood, for thou hast conquered me.* They add, that by the help of some of his Confidents, he woud have precipitated himself into a neighbouring river, to conceal the manner of his death and make him-

* Theodoret. I. iii. c. 26. Sozom. I. v. c. 20. Paulio S. Theodoret. Presbyt. Greg. N. or. 3. 116. 117. Philost. I. vii. c. 10.

self pass for a God. One of his Eunuchs, as is said, perceived this horrible design, and prevented the execution of it.

I ought neither to omit these particularities, because they are generally reported, especially the first, nor to adopt them, because I look upon them as productions of that mistaken zeal, which cannot bear that the Persecutors of the Truth shoud die in a common manner. St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, whom none can accuse of sparing *Julian* too much, says not that he blasphemed, or that he threw up his blood against Heaven. 'Tis true we find this Fact in three ancient Authors, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, and the anonymous Writer who collected the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. *Theodore* Priest of *Antioch*. But the two first speak of it as an uncertain thing, and *Sozomen* takes care to remark that few people so relate it. The Acts of St. *Theodore* contain some original circumstances, which I have not scrupled to make use of, because they are conformable to what we read in the best Writers: Yet the unknown Author of these Acts shows a prodigious excess of credulity in what he relates of *Julian*'s death. Though he tells us he served in the Palace at *Antioch*, and followed the Emperor in his Expedition, yet it will not, I suppose, be believed upon his word, that the Army which attacked

Julian

Julian (n) was an Army of Angels under the forma of *Perſians*. When the relation of a Fact is introduced with such severies, we are dispensed with from believing the rest. Others faid, according to *Sazomon*, (and *Philoſtorgius* is of this number) that Julian when he threw up his blood into the air did not address himself to *Jesus Christ*, but to the *Sun*; and that he reproached it with having betrayed him in fa-vour of the *Perſians*, after having preſided over his birth, and received ſuch religious Adoration from him. As to me, I believe that if this Prince had expofulated with any of his Gods, it woud have been *Mars*, againſt whom he had been enag'd ſome few days before, and whom he afterwards regarded as his personal Enemy. But I doubt whether *Ammianus*, who was in the Camp, woud have forgiven him this ſecond extravagance, after having related the first.

The design of making his body diſappear, that he might pafs for another *Romulus*, though it is much in Julian's naſte, is not ſufficiently (o) atteſted. As to other ci- cumftances

(n) *Et cum omnia fe obtinuisse putasset, ſubito ei irruit multitudo exercitū Angelorum. Et timore perterritus ſuum exercitum armari precepit, neſciens in- felix quod celeſtis militia apparuerat ei: et ſubito ve- niens fagitta, &c. Paffo S. Theod. Preß.*

(o) Julian had no Eunuchs with him; yet as the word Eunuch may here ſignify only a *Valet de Chambre*,

circumstances less averred, or even incompatible with History, I shall not stay to dispute them. Neither shall I examine, whether *Julian* was killed by a *Persian*, which appears at first sight the most probable; or, as the *Persians* pretended, by a *Roman*. From whatsoever hand the dart was thrown which took away his life, it was the instrument of Divine Vengeance upon that Apostate, and of a particular Providence over the Church, which he persecuted with the most profound, the most refined, and, if I may venture thus to express myself, the most systematic hatred that ever was.

* What *Julian* had done till then was only a weak Essay of the Persecution he meditated. His preparations against the *Persians* had divided him, diverted his thoughts, and her. I do not insist upon that reason. I rather chuse to observe that St. *Gregory*, who relates this rumour after several others slightly founded, confesses, that all that was reported touching the circumstances of *Julian*'s death was wholly uncertain. I shall also add, that the History I refute is incompatible with the relation of *Amianus*, an Eye-witness, who served in the Guards, a sensible and attentive man, an Admirer indeed of the good qualities of *Julian*, but an equitable Censurer of his defects. Though a Pagan, he speaks of the Christians with so much moderation, and even sometimes so advantageously, that some learned Men (M. P. *Pithou* and le P. *Chifflet* a Jesuit) have thought he was a Christian.

* Greg. Naz. or. iii. 79, 80, 94. Hieron. in Habac. iii. 14. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 13. Sozom. l.

and obliged him to caution. 'Tis pretended he always said himself, that having two sorts of Enemies to reduce, the *Persians* and *Christians*, he woud disembarrass himself of the least considerable, that he might attack the other afterwards. At his return most terrible Edicts were expected to break forth. It was, said they, his design to shut the Tribunals against the Christians, to forbid them all public Places and Markets. To offer Incense to Idols, was to be a necessary Preliminary to the least function in civil life, to entitle a Man to the benefit of the Law, to purchase bread, to enjoy the most common privileges of Human nature.

If *Julian* had reigned some years, and strictly pressed the execution of such Edicts, the Christian name must have failed through the whole extent of the Empire. Whoever remained faithful to his Religion, woud infallibly have perished, or must have sought an asylum amongst the Barbarians. Such was the idea which was formed of the storm that threatened the Church: This idea was not too highly exaggerated, if we consider singly *Julian's* hatred against the Christians. But whether he woud have listened to his hatred only, whether he woud have been so bad a Politician as to expose the Empire to the inevitable consequences of so violent a Persecution, the event alone woud have informed

formed us. What is certain, is, that God snatched him from the world in the midst of his fatal projects; and that Idolatry, wounded with the same stroke which was given to its Restorer, fell never to rise again. *Let the Christians*, said a Pagan at that time, *no more boast of the long suffering of their God. Nothing is so swift, nor so dreadful as his wrath.* We may read in Ecclesiastical Historians of several revelations made known to holy Persons the death of their implacable Enemy. It was not yet known at Antioch, when a Christian of that City made an answer, which the event has occasioned to pass for a kind of Prediction. He was a common Grammarians, whose science and personal merit had raised him above his condition; so that *Libanius* did not disdain to be familiar with him. That Sophist said to him one day laughing: *What is the Carpenter's Son now about? A Coffin for your Hero,* replied the Grammarians.

To conclude: Julian's death may be considered as a misfortune to the State, could it have been secured from the fear of Persecution which might have proved fatal even to the State itself. It lost a Prince capable of retarding the fall of the Empire, which the Barbarians attacked on all sides before his Reign, and which they again attacked under his Successors, till they destroyed it. He was lost at a juncture, when we may truly say, he died

died too soon, or too late. Too late, because he was so imprudent as to burn his fleet, and engage his Army in an Enemy's country: Too soon, because his valour might have recovered them from the false step into which his imprudence had thrown him. *Sapor* never ceased trembling for his Crown, whilst he thought him alive. When he heard he was killed, he gave himself up to the most lively transports of joy, and the most honourable to *Julian*. He woud have rewarded the Person who delivered him from such an Enemy. But no body presented himself.

The twenty-fifth of June, the *Roman* Army proclaimed *Jovian* Emperor, the same *Jovian* who had so generously confessed the Faith. He gave ear to a Negociation which the *Persians* expressly protracted, that the *Romans* might consume what provisions they had remaining. Then the new Emperor, pressed by famine, and under a just apprehension that some body else, taking advantage of his absence, might assume the Diadem, concluded a Treaty with *Sapor*, apparently necessary, but undoubtedly shameful. He gave up by this Treaty the five Provinces situated between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, with the City of *Nisibis*, which was the bulwark of the Empire in the East. *Procopius* was charged with the care of conveying *Julian*'s body to *Tarsus*. The funeral

ral was celebrated there after the Pagan manner, but with little ceremony. Julian was interred not far from the City, opposite to *Maximinus Daia*, so that the high way only separated the tombs of the two Persecutors. *Jovian*, when he came to *Tarsus*, gave orders that some Ornaments shoud be added to that of *Julian*. The Pagans revered it as a Temple. They engraved upon it two *Greek Verses*, of which this is the sense:

Julian, who fell near *Tigris'* rapid wave,
In Arms and Virtue great, here finds a
worth grave. (p.)

The reader is now in a capacity of judging with what restrictions this character is to be understood.

(p) ΙΩΑΝΝΟΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΙΓΡΙΝ ΑΓΑΡΡΟΝ ΕΝ
ΘΑΛΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ.
ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΔΕΤΣ Τ. ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΚΡΑΤΕ
ΡΟΣ Τ. ΑΙΧΜΗΤΗΣ.



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